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ABSTRACT

This handbook presents samples of the Soninke language of West Africa in various contexts, such as folk tales, newspaper articles, personal histories, articles on history and culture, and articles on activities likely to be undertaken by Peace Corps volunteers. Much of the material is presented in a facing-page bilingual format, with a translation in English. Although the material is not set up as a series of language learning units, it can be used for self study or in conjunction with lessons in the two related handbooks. The material in Soninke is preceded by an English narrative outlining the history and culture of the Soninke-speaking peoples. (JB)

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SONINKE

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Special Skills Handbook

*compiled by Martha B. Kendall
with Mamadou Soumare and Saloum Soumare*

PEACE CORPS LANGUAGE HANDBOOK SERIES

Developed by The Experiment in International Living
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PEACE CORPS
LANGUAGE HANDBOOK SERIES

This series includes language materials in Belizean Creole, Ewe, Kabiye, Kiribati, Mauritanian Arabic, Setswana, siSwati, Solomon Islands Pijin, Soninke, Tanzanian Swahili, and Tem.

These materials were developed by The Experiment in International Living.

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1980

SONINKE
SPECIAL SKILLS

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SONINKE
SPECIAL SKILLS HANDBOOK

PART I
BACKGROUND AND REFERENCE MATERIAL

This section contains background information on the four countries in which Soninke populations live. As you read through them, you will discover why the national boundaries established during the colonial and post-colonial eras have little reality for the ethnic groups that live along them. The Soninke who live in Western Mali have relatives in villages a few miles away in Mauritania and Senegal; they come and go freely, crossing the borders without much thought or consideration for the fact that these are international boundary markers. This is quite understandable, given that the boundary between Mali and Senegal was only drawn in 1960.

The information you will find here is taken from U. S. State Department Background Notes.

Background and Reference Material

THE REPUBLIC OF MALI:

A Profile*

GEOGRAPHY

Area: 464,873 sq. mi. (about the size of California and Texas combined).

Capital: Bamako (pop. 200,000).

Other Cities: Mopti (pop. 32,400); Kayes (pop. 28,500); Segou (pop. 28,100); Sikasso (pop. 21,800); Gao (pop. 15,400); San (pop. 14,900), and Timbuktu (pop. 9,000).

PEOPLE

Population: 5.26 million (1972 est.).

Annual Growth Rate: 2.3% (1972).

Density: 11 per sq. mi.

Ethnic Groups: Mandé (Bamabara, Malinké, Sarakollé) 50%; Peul 17.2%; Voltaic 12.2%; Songhai 5.6%; Tuareg and Moors 4.6%.

Religions: Islam, indigenous, Christian.

Languages: French (official), Bambara (spoken by about 80% of the population).

Literacy: 10-20%

Life Expectancy: 37 years

ECONOMY

Agriculture: sorghum, millet, livestock, cotton, fishing, peanuts, rice.

Industry: textiles, food processing.

Natural Resources: iron ore, bauxite, uranium, copper, manganese, phosphate.

Trade: Exports--meat, livestock, baskets, cotton, fish, peanuts and peanut byproducts, tannery products.

Imports--food, machinery, vehicles, petroleum products, chemicals and pharmaceuticals, textiles.

*Taken from U. S. State Department Background Notes for Mali (1974)

The Republic of Mali



The Republic of Mali

General Information*

The Republic of Mali (La Republique du Mali) is a landlocked, agricultural country. Bordered by Algeria, Mauritania, Senegal, Guinea, Ivory Coast, Upper Volta and Niger, it occupies a cultural transition zone between the Arab-Berber regions of North Africa and the "Sudanic" regions of black West Africa. It encompasses 479,000 square miles and has a population of about 5 million people, most of whom live in the Valley of the Niger River, which bisects the country. From the end of the 19th century until its independence in 1960, Mali was known as the French Sudan (Sudan meaning "land of the blacks" in Arabic). It is now named after the great Mali Empire, which flourished from the 13th to the 16th century under Malinke dominion.

Most of the country is in the West African savanna region, an area in transition between the coastal rain forest and the desert. The northern part of the country lies within the Sahara Desert. It is broken by rocky hills, but otherwise is flat and dry with virtually no rainfall. Mali's climate becomes more hospitable south of Timbuktu, which is on an ancient caravan route. The south and west have a short but regular rainy season (June-September).

The Niger River (known locally as Djoliba) and its tributaries are vital to the life of Mali. For most of its course within Mali, the Niger is navigable from mid-June to mid-December by large riverboats and by smaller craft throughout the year. The farmland region is along the banks of the Niger.

Only about 10 percent of the Malians live in cities of more than 5,000 inhabitants. The remainder live in small towns and villages and are engaged in traditional pursuits as farmers, fishermen, herdsman, artisans, and merchants.

There are no accurate statistics on the ethnic composition of the Malian population. Since Mali's location in the savanna region has meant mobility and mingling of the tribes, the population is relatively homogeneous, socially and culturally. The desert nomads, such as the Tuareg, who are related to North African Berbers, are a case apart. In the past, they have traditionally opposed the authority of the Central Government at Bamako, although a modus vivendi appears to have been achieved in recent years. European residents number only about 4,000, most of whom are French.

Malians are predominantly Muslim or influenced by Islam. There are also 40,000-50,000 Christians.

*Adapted from U. S. State Department Background Notes for Mali (1974).

History

Mali is partial heir to the succession of ancient African empires that occupied the West African savanna. These empires were well-organized political groupings that engendered considerable security and prosperity. They were in touch with the Mediterranean and Near Eastern centers of civilization by way of Saharan trade routes.

Malians take great pride in being descendents of these ancient kingdoms. The Malinké Kingdom of Mali, from which the present Republic takes its name, had its origins on the upper Niger River in the 12th century. Expanding rapidly in the 13th century under the leadership of Soundiata Keita, it reached its height about 1325 with the conquest of Timbuktu and Gao. Thereafter the Kingdom began to lose hold of its territory and by the 15th century was a shadow of its former self.

The Songhai Empire, centered in Gao, expanded its power during the period 1465-1530. At its peak under Askia Mohammed I, the Songhai Empire encompassed the Hausa States as far as Kano (in present-day Nigeria) and much of the territory that had belonged to Mali in the west. It was finally destroyed by a Moroccan invasion around 1600.

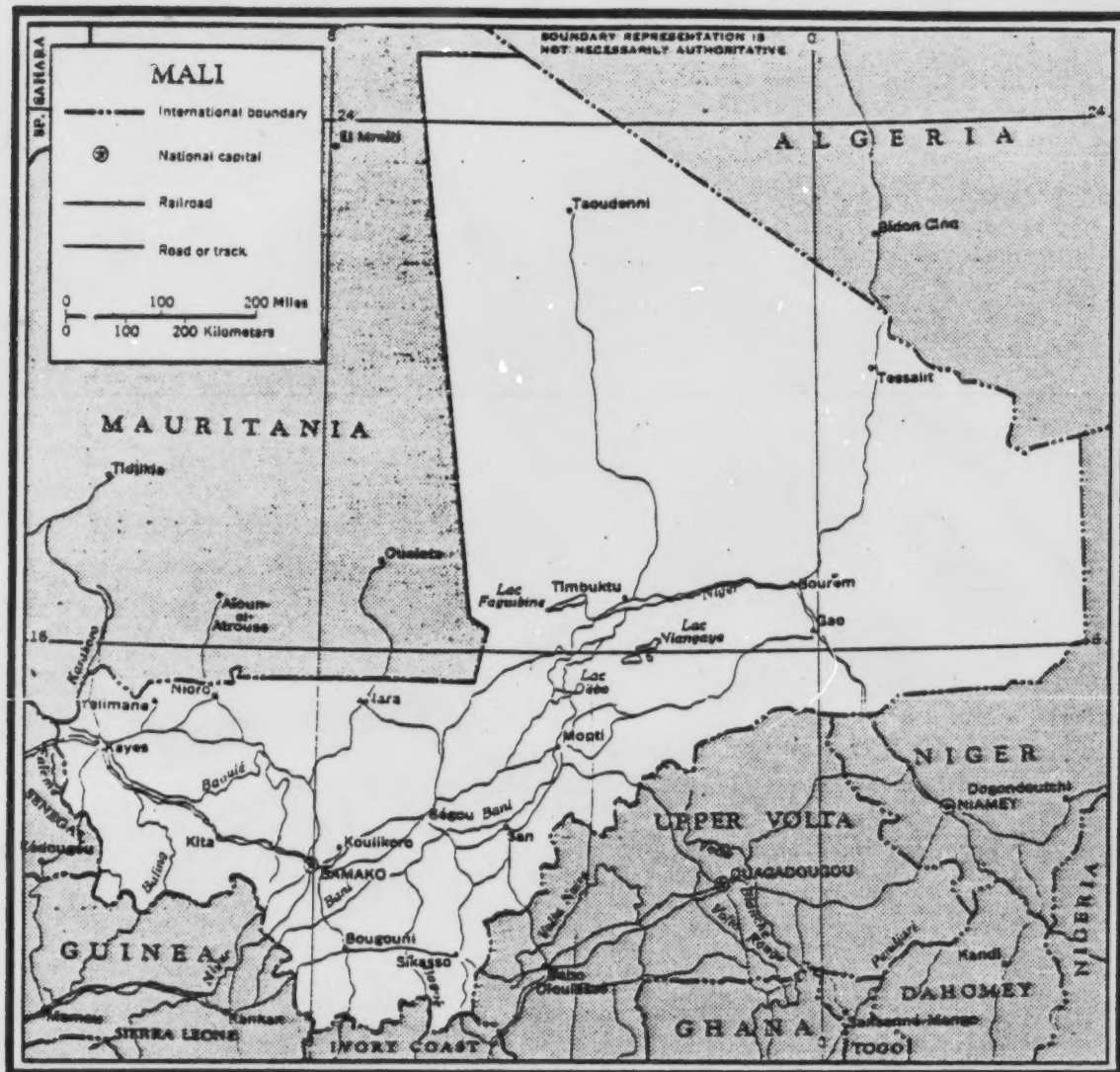
The French military penetration of Soudan (now Mali) began around 1880. Ten years later the French made a serious drive to occupy the interior. A French civilian governor of Soudan was appointed in 1893, but resistance to French control was not eliminated until 1898, when the Malinké warrior Samory Touré was defeated after 7 years of war.

As the colony of Soudan, Mali was administered with other French colonial territories as the Federation of French West Africa. In 1946 a Soudanese Territorial Assembly was elected on the basis of a restricted franchise and endowed with power to raise and dispose of territorial revenues.

In early 1957, as a result of France's Overseas Reform Act (Loi Cadre), the Territorial Assembly obtained extensive powers over internal affairs and was permitted to form a cabinet with executive authority over matters within the Assembly's competence. After the 1958 French constitutional referendum, Soudan became a member state of the French Community with complete internal autonomy.

In January 1959 Soudan joined Senegal to form the Mali Federation, which became fully independent within the French Community on June 20, 1960. The Federation collapsed on August 20, 1960, when Senegal seceded. On September 22, 1960, Soudan proclaimed itself the Republic of Mali and withdrew from the French community.

The Republic of Mali



In 1960 a Malian constitution was written promising parliamentary democracy and universal suffrage to the citizens of the country. The first president of the Republic, Modibo Keita, was ousted in 1968, when a military government took power, established the Military Committee for National Liberation, and suspended the provisions of the original governmental charter. In 1974, a revised constitution was issued, founding a one party system with free elections. Moussa Traore, former head of the military government, was elected President of the Republic under this constitution.

Government

The President serves at the head of an elected legislature or National Assembly. He also heads a cabinet of appointed ministers. The ministers oversee the internal organization of the branches of government concerned with health, education, economic development, culture, youth, sports, justice, foreign affairs, transport and telecommunications, tourism, defense, security, finance, production, commerce, and state enterprises.

On the local level, the country is divided into six administrative regions: Bamako, Gao, Kayes, Mopti, Segou and Sikasso. Each of these in turn is divided into cercles, and each cercle is divided into a number of arrondissements. The arrondissements are composed of sets of villages, headed by local councils. At the administrative center of each arrondissement there is generally a school and a dispensary, in addition to the office of the chef. At the next highest level of government, that is, in the administrative center of the cercle, are found local courts, police headquarters, and representatives of government agencies concerned with health and sanitation, education and welfare. At the level of administrative region, a governor oversees the activities of the cercles and is charged with implementing national policies, be they economic, political or social.

The court system is organized in parallel with the governmental administration. That is, the lowest courts and tribunals are held at the level of arrondissement, with higher courts and courts of appeal at the level of cercle and region. The Supreme Court in Bamako hears cases from all lower judiciary bodies. The courts are charged with upholding the law codes formulated by elected government officials, and with adjudicating domestic, civil and commercial disputes.

Education

About 10-20% of the population of Mali is literate. Until very recently, all formal instruction was in French, but now there are concerted efforts to develop national language curriculum materials. The Ministry of Education has as part of its structure the National Literacy Service, a group of "teams" whose mission is to develop writing systems, books and pamphlets in local languages for both adult and child consumption. There is now a newspaper in Bambara called Kibaaru and an irregularly published Bambara magazine called Nyeta, both of which are enormously popular with literate Malians. The literacy service has also published a series of tracts on health and agricultural techniques which are distributed through local literacy centers. Work on Soninke has progressed to the point where there is a syllabary, an arithmetic primer, several books of Soninke stories and fables, and a lexicon. The Fula and Dogon teams, as well as the Sonrai and Tuareg "equips" meet regularly to discuss issues in functional literacy. There are ten national language development teams in all.

The Republic of Mali

The Malian school system is organized into three divisions: a cycle fondamental, which includes a combined primary and secondary curriculum, a lycee, which provides higher secondary education, and a series of institutes and colleges providing higher education. The Ecole Normale Supereure trains teachers and government workers; the polytechnical institute trains engineers and technicians; the medical college trains medical assistants and so forth. In general, higher education in Mali is designed to meet the needs of the government and civil service so that practical knowledge and technical skills are emphasized in curricula.

Many Malians receive advanced degrees abroad. France and the Soviet Union lead other nations in training Malians, but francophone African countries also take Malian students. American degrees are becoming less rare, although the fact that American education is in English discourages many potential candidates.

Economy

Since Mali must import petroleum products, the rapid rise in the cost of crude oil has contributed to inflation. More and more consumer goods find their ways into the Malian economy, but their cost is high enough to be beyond the reach of substantial portions of the population.

Agricultural products, livestock, fishing and forestry account for about half the GDP, occupy about 90 percent of the working population, and contribute virtually all of Mali's exports.

Cropland is limited to the southern half of the country where there is sufficient rainfall, where irrigation is possible, or where flooding from rivers takes place. The agricultural sector is dominated by small-scale traditional farming with subsistence farming undertaken on about 90 percent of the 3.4 million acres under cultivation.

Rice and cotton are grown in the Office du Niger, a large-scale agricultural project established in 1932 to introduce intensive agriculture through irrigation in the "dead delta" of the Niger River (between Segou and Timbuktu). Most of the land (125,000 acres under cultivation) is farmed by tenant farmers.

Rain-grown cotton comes from south-central Mali, where a French company has successfully encouraged production. Peanuts are grown principally in the west. Fish is an important source of food for people living along the Niger River. The surplus is smoked, salted, or dried, and exported.

Until 1972 Mali's greatest resource was livestock, totaling about 5 million cattle and 10 million sheep and goats. The national herd was

seriously depleted by the drought. However, the livestock industry could be important for Mali's future as an area of potential growth for the country's economy.

Agricultural potential is presently limited. In the past Mali was self-sufficient in grains--millet, sorghum, rice, and corn. Mediocre harvests, a growing population and changing dietary habits, however, have resulted in small grain deficits each year since 1965, with major shortages occurring in 1969 and 1971 and a major drought from 1972 to 1974.

Deposits of bauxite, uranium, iron ore, copper, manganese, and phosphate are known to exist, but are not mined because of the lack of transportation and power facilities. However, a small amount of gold is extracted.

During the colonial period, private capital investment was virtually non-existent, and public investment was largely devoted to the Office du Niger irrigation scheme and to administrative overhead. Since independence, however, Mali has built some light industries with the help of various aid donors.

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Background and Reference Material

THE ISLAMIC REPUBLIC OF MAURITANIA

A Profile*

GEOGRAPHY

Area: 1,085,760 sq. km. (419,229 sq. mi.); about the size of Alaska. Mauritania also administers and regards as Mauritanian territory approx. 88,000 sq. km. (34,000 sq. mi.) of former Spanish Sahara.

Cities: Capital--Nouakchott (pop. 200,000, 1978 est.); Nouadhibou (21,960), Kaedi (20,850), Zouerate (17,470), Kiffa (10,629).

PEOPLE

Population: 1.42 million (1977 census).

Ethnic Groups: Arab-Berber, Arab-Berber-Negroid, Negroid (one-third each).

Religion: Islam.

Languages: Hassanya Arabic (national), French (official), Toucouleur, Fula, Soninke, Wolof.

ECONOMY

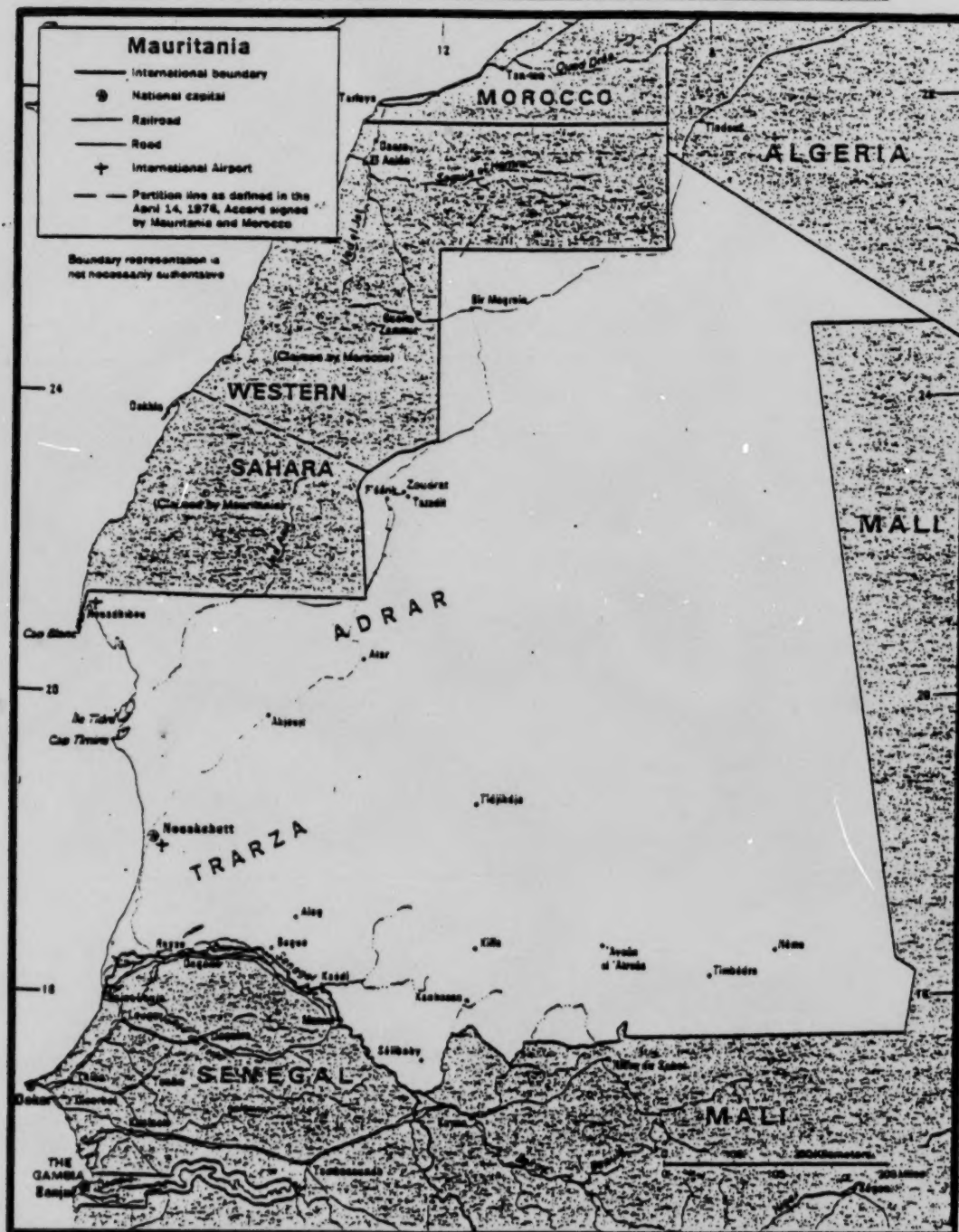
Natural Resources: iron ore, gypsum, fish

Agriculture: livestock, millet, maize, wheat, dates, rice.

Industry: iron mining, fish processing.

*Taken from U. S. State Department Background Notes for Mauritania (1979).

The Islamic Republic of Mauritania



The Islamic Republic of Mauritania

People

Mauritania's population is unevenly distributed; the Moors are nomadic herdsman and warriors, and the black Africans are primarily sedentary farmers congregated in the Senegal River Valley. There are approximately 2,000 Europeans, primarily French, and Spaniards from the Canary Islands.

History

Tens of thousands of years ago, the Sahara regions were verdant and filled with game. Archeological evidence suggests that Berber and Negroid Mauritania's lived beside one another before the spread of the desert drove them southward. This movement was increased in the third and fourth centuries A. D., when Berber groups seeking pastures for their herds and safety from political unrest and war in the north arrived. The Berbers' use of the camel allowed them to range widely over the expanding desert regions and also supported the development of a caravan trade system throughout the region; this trade in turn promoted the Berbers' loose Sanhadja Confederation. Trade involved gold, slaves, and ivory going north in exchange for salt, copper, cloth, and other items going south to Timbuktu and beyond. Important trading towns were established, and the Islamic faith spread along the trade routes.

In the 10th century, conquests by warriors of the Sudanese kingdom of Ghana broke up the confederation, which had become weakened by internal strife, and the Ghanaians became the dominant force in the eastern and southern regions.

In the 11th century, the conquest of the western Sahara regions by a Berber tribe which later spread into North Africa and Spain destroyed the Ghanaian kingdom and firmly established Islam throughout Mauritania. These people in turn were defeated in the 16th century by Arab invaders led by the Beni Hassan.

French military penetration of Mauritania began early in the 20th century, but the area was not brought fully under French control until about 1934.

A French protectorate over "the Moorish country" was proclaimed in 1903, and Mauritania became a French colony in 1920. Its area was increased substantially in 1945, when the Hodh region of French Soudan (now Mali) was administratively transferred to Mauritania. Certain parts of this territory were ceded back to Mali in mutual territorial adjustments in 1964.

The Islamic Republic of Mauritania

The Islamic Republic of Mauritania was proclaimed in November, 1958, and shortly thereafter the process of transferring Mauritania's administrative services from Saint-Louis, Senegal, to the new capital of Nouakchott was begun. Mauritania became independent in 1960. In June, 1961 it signed agreements with France defining post-independence relations with the former metropole. Mauritania withdrew from the French community in 1966.

Geography

Mauritania is situated in northwest Africa and is bounded by Mali, Algeria, Senegal, the former Spanish Sahara, and the Atlantic Ocean.

The country has three distinct geographic regions: (1) a narrow belt along the Senegal River Valley in the south, where soil and climatic conditions permit settled agriculture; (2) a broad, central east-west band characterized by vast sand plains and fixed dunes held in place by sparse grass and scrub trees; and (3) a large northern arid region shading into the Sahara Desert and characterized by shifting sand dunes, rock outcroppings, and rugged mountainous plateaus with elevations of more than 456 meters (1,500 feet).

Economy

The majority of Mauritania's inhabitants, either nomadic herdsman or settled farmers, live within a subsistence economy, supplementing their incomes occasionally by wage employment or by sales of produce on local markets. Settled agriculture is confined principally to the north bank of the Senegal River, where millet, sorghum, rice, and other cereals are the main crops. Some 12,000 tons of dates are produced annually from the date palms cultivated in the mountainous regions of Adrar, Tagant, and Assaba and at the larger oases. Almost all agricultural produce is consumed locally.

Animal husbandry is the most important activity within the agricultural sector, and the herds are estimated at 7 million sheep and goats, 2 million cattle, and 700,000 camels.

Mauritania's most important natural resource is the large deposit of high-grade iron ore in the F'Derick area. The semiautonomous development company, Société Nationale Industrielle at Mimere (SNIM), is currently exploiting these deposits. The health of the entire Mauritanian economy is vitally linked to the exports of this high-grade ore, which has traditionally accounted for at least 70 percent of export earnings.

In the waters off the Mauritanian coast are said to be some of the richest fisheries in the world, and fish-product exports are Mauritania's leading source of foreign revenue.

The Islamic Republic of Mauritania

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THE REPUBLIC OF SENEGAL

A Profile*

PEOPLE

Population: 5,380,000.

Ethnic Groups: Wolof 36%, Fulani 17.5%, Sere 16.5%, Toucouleur 9%, Diola 9%, Mandingo 6.5%, other African 4.5%, other 1%.

Religions: Muslim 75%, Christian 5%, animist 20%.

Languages: French (official), Wolof, Pulaar, Diola, Mandingo, Soninke.

Life Expectancy: 44 years.

GEOGRAPHY

Area: 196,840 sq. km. (76,000 sq. mi.), about the size of South Dakota.

Cities: Capital--Dakar; Thies, Kaolack, Saint Louis.

ECONOMY

Natural Resources: fish, phosphates.

Agriculture: peanuts, millet, sorghum, manioc, rice, cotton.

Industry: fishing, agriculture product processing, light manufacturing, mining.

Trade (1977): Exports--peanuts and peanut products, phosphate rock, canned fish. Imports--food, consumer goods, machinery, transport equipment.

*Taken from U. S. State Department Background Notes for Senegal (1979).

THE REPUBLIC OF GUINEA

A Profile*

PEOPLE

Population: 4.5 million (1978 est.).

Ethnic Groups: Foulah, Malinké, Soussous, 15 smaller tribes.

Religions: Muslim 75%, animist 24%, less than 1% Christian.

Languages: French (official), tribal languages.

Literacy: 10%

Life Expectancy: 41 years.

GEOGRAPHY

Area: 246,048 sq. km. (95,000 sq. mi.), slightly smaller than Oregon.

Cities: Capital--Conakry (pop. 575,000); Labé (419,000), N'Zérékoré (291,000), Kankan (265,000), Siguiri (254,000).

ECONOMY

Natural Resources: bauxite, iron ore, diamonds, gold, water power.

Agriculture: rice, cassava, millet, corn, coffee, bananas, palm products, pineapples.

Industry: bauxite, alumina, light manufacturing and processing.

Trade: Exports--bauxite, alumina, pineapple, bananas, palm kernels, coffee. Imports--petroleum, production materials, machinery, transportation equipment, foodstuffs.

*Taken from U. S. State Department Background Notes for Senegal (1978).

THE GUIDIMAXA

General Information



The Guidimaxe is a traditional Soninke region marked on the south by the Senegal River, on the east by the Karakoro. Its northern limit is approximately $15^{\circ}56'$ and its western boundary lies at $12^{\circ}44'$. This approximately rectangular land mass covers 1000 sq. km., its horizontal dimensions being 140 km; its vertical dimensions being 100 km.

The climate of this region is semi-arid and monsoonal. This means that a predominately dry climate receives a three-month rainy season between July and September. In the central Guidimaxe at Selibabi, mean annual rainfall is approximately 616 mm; to the north of this region the figure drops to 450 mm, while in the south it reaches as such as 660 mm.

The climate affects the vegetation and soil types within the area rather dramatically. The northern Guidimaxe is savanna, characterized by sparse shrub growth, while the southern Guidimaxe shows the densely wooded savanna characteristic of a Sudanic climate zone. The Senegal River valley supports a variety of vegetation types dominated by thorn bush, acacia, ficus and baobab.

The Guidimaxe

The Guidimaxe is topographically a series of plains alternating with minor relief features, except in the north where the steep Assaba plateau (Assaba massif) rises to a height of 200-300 meters above the surrounding territory. The lands near the Senegal River and its tributaries form the low portions of gentle gradients rising toward arid quartzite ridges. (See accompanying map.) The following two paragraphs describe the people of Guidimaxe.

The Guidimaxe is dominated by four groups of people: the Soninke and Toucouleur agriculturalists, and the Peul and Maure [Moor] herdsmen. Figures for the Département of Selibabi (Kane and Lericollais, 1974) suggest a population of 44,000, of whom 24,000 are Soninke, 11,700 are Maure, and 6300 and 2000 Peul and Toucouleur respectively. Within the Département, approximately 70 per cent of the Soninke are located along the Senegal and Niorde valleys. Further north a similar concentration is noted in the Garfa system, with major settlements such as Ajar-Sarakole, Oulombome, Dafort, Bouanze and Ndieo.

The presence of Bambara people working as salaried labourers in numerous villages of the region is a fact of some significance. Kane and Lericollais (1974) do not provide figures of the size of this immigrant population (largely from Mali), but suggest a figure of 1,005 Bambara for the Arrondissement of Ololdou near Bakel in Senegal. Doubtless, the presence of Bambara in the Guidimaxe, in numbers as yet unspecified, bears witness to the 'drain' on the work-force resulting from emigration of the Soninke from the area. Bradley, Raynaut and Torrealba, Guidimaxe Region of Mauritania, 1977, "The War on Want," p. 41.

The "drain" on the work force referred to here is mentioned in the Communication and Culture Handbook. The Soninke have for generations exported their young men to other nations as laborers, a practice which allows them to exist in very marginal lands.

THE GUIDIMAXA

Settlement and Communication

The Guidimaxa region of Mali and Mauritania is very sparsely populated. While estimates are inaccurate and subject to fluctuation, they generally average between five and ten persons per square kilometer.

Villages within this region are located where water is available, although a number of smaller semi-permanent settlements are also situated where cattle may browse during the dry season. The Soninke, being agriculturalists, establish their habitations where there is an adequate supply of water and alluvial farm lands, mostly along the Senegal River or its major tributaries: the Garfa, Niorde and Kalikoro. The nomadic Peul and Moor herdsman distribute their settlements along the minor water courses, giving the population of the entire region a more or less evenly dispersed appearance. (See map, from Bradley, Raynaut and Torrealba. 1977. The Guidimaka Region of Mauritania, p. 40.)

Villages are small, generally containing less than a thousand people, particularly where the Peul and the Moor are concerned. Soninke villages, supported by extensive agriculture, may reach two thousand or more people, and those which have both agricultural and historical importance can supersede even this figure. Another factor contributing to village size is location along principal routes allowing access to and from settlements. Road and track networks are extremely poorly developed in this part of West Africa, which means that many of the smaller villages are completely inaccessible to vehicular traffic during the rainy season.

Within the Guidimaxa, motor vehicles, and even bicycles, are in fact infrequently seen. Most people travel by horse, donkey, camel, or on foot.

The Guidimaxa: Settlement and Communication



number of inhabitants	2000+	1000 - 2000	500 - 1000	500-
Soninke	●	●	●	●
Peul and Toucouleur	○	○	○	○
Maure	◻	◻	◻	◻

Département of Sottibabi: distribution of population

THE SONINKE

Traditional Areas And Dialects

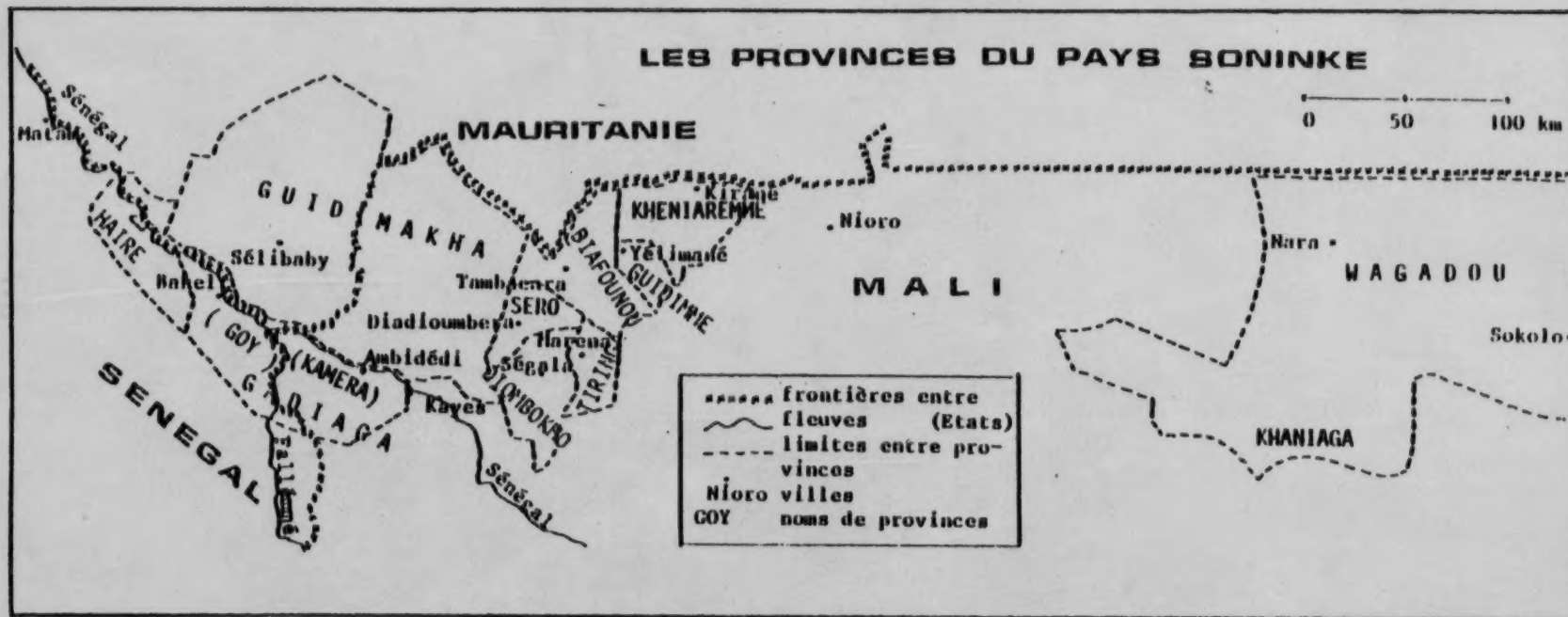
Since very ancient times--perhaps as far back as the fall of the Ghana Empire--the Soninke people have recognized a number of sociopolitical divisions among themselves. These divisions, reflecting ecological or regional economic interests, are subsumed by two great geographical areas: one encompassing Soninke villages and towns lying east of Kayes on the border of Mali and Mauritania, and another encompassing Soninke habitations lying west of Kayes.

To the east of Kayes lie the traditional areas known as the Jafanu, the Baxunu, the Jamboxo, the Sero, the Tringa, the Guidemme, the Xenyaremme. Further east still are the last outposts of Soninke domain known as the Wagadu, the Xanyaga and the Markadugu. (This last is a Bambara word meaning Soninke land.) To the west of Kayes in the valley of the Senegal River are found the Guidimaxe, the Gadjaga and the Haire. The Guidimaxe region is located partly in Mali, partly in Mauritania. The Gadjaga extends from Mauritania to eastern Senegal south of the Senegal River; the Haire is more to the west, occupying parts of Mauritania and Senegal too. The westernmost Soninke have established settlements in the Gambia, which means that four West African countries have indigenous Soninke populations. (See map.)

The eastern and western Soninke speak mutually intelligible but distinctly different dialects. These regional variants are most notably distinguished by choice of auxiliaries and postpositions, by the formation of plurals, and by the pronunciation of certain consonants in initial position in words. Speakers of the western dialects pronounce the consonant /f/ as /f/ and /s/ as /s/ at the beginnings of words unless that word follows another word ending in a nasal consonant (n, m or ŋ); in these cases they obligatorily pronounce initial /f/ as /p/ and initial /s/ as /c/. In northwestern dialects the consonant /f/ tends to remain /f/ and /s/ tends to remain /s/, although they may change to /p/ and /c/ after nasals. In the Jafanu, Baxunu, Wagadu and other eastern dialects, the consonant /f/ has been totally replaced by /h/ in initial position in words, but this /h/ sound becomes a /p/ after a nasal consonant. Initial /s/ becomes /c/ after a nasal in these dialects, just as it does in the western dialects division. Examine the following chart of clarification.

Traditional Areas and Dialects

ENGLISH	SONINKE PRONUNCIATION		
	WESTERN	NORTHWESTERN	EASTERN
his/her donkey	a fare	a fare	a hare
your donkey	an pare	an fare an pare (optional)	an pare
his/her father	a faaba	a faaba	a haaba
my father	n paaba	n faaba n paaba (optional)	n paaba
his/her horse	a si	a si	a si
my horse	n ci	n si n ci (optional)	n ci



From: Grier, Christian, Mody Bathily, Lassana Diallo, Saada Diabira
(no date) Enseignement Du Soninke (Sarakole). Paris: CRES.

Traditional Areas and Dialects

Below you will find a short Soninke story written twice. The first version shows how the story would be told by a story-teller from the eastern dialect area; the second version reproduces the northwestern (Guidimaxa) dialect. Note that the eastern auxiliary verb go is ga in the northwestern dialect, and that the postposition di in eastern Soninke appears as yi or na in the other dialect. Find other small differences and jot them down in the space provided.

TURUNŊE HAQQIRI LIŊE

Kalle n wo dangini beesu boori laqge n ŋa. A wa gille ka di, a wa ka di. Turunŋe ma ga kara waxati be. Gunnidi-fonu su r'a furi-rondir-ra n ŋa, baw'u ra wo beesu kittana xumbanne. Butto filli furi-ronde n palle, turunŋe runte kinye jarinte ya gunnidi-fonu su tunka, nan t'a d'i ma taqqa i xaaburu n di. Tunka da dimme timmi, na gunnidi-fonu su kafu me ya, xa kamane ma kitte, fibe ga da turunŋe ma baaja bakka i kume n di. Ke n su falle jamba-tutu ga da tu tonu n nta konni. A d'i kampun-katu katu nan ti jarinte da "Turunŋe ma go kalla, n ke nyi yere. I ga ny'a fure londini n nyi yere. I ga ny'a fure bagundini, n nyi n batte n de yere." Turunŋe ga da tu gamma nt'a ya. A ti jarinte da "O na toqqa kundu." Ke n ya ni fadama remme nan gawa n'a tu, nan t'i ga na fo su nyi muxe di, a wo bakku sella n ŋa dalla dalla.

TURUNŊE HAQQILI LIŊE

Kalle n wa dangini beesu boori laqge n ŋa. A wa gille ka n ŋa, a wa ka n ŋa. Turunŋe ma ga kara waxati be. Gunnedu-foni su r'a furi-rondi-ra n ŋa, baw'u la wa beesu kittana xumbanne. Bitto filli furi-ronde n falle, turunŋe wunte kinye jarinte ya gunhedu-foni su tunka nan t'a da i ma taqqa i xaaburu n ŋa. Tunka da danŋe n timmi na gunnedu-foni su kafu me ya, xa kamane ma kitte fo be ga da turunŋe ma baaja bakk'i kume n ŋa. Ke n su falle jamba ga da tu tonu n nta konni. A d'i kampun-katu nan ti jarinte da "Turunŋe ma ga kalla, n ke nyi yere. I ga nyi a fure n londini, n nyi yere. I ga ny'a fure bagundini, n nyi n batte n de yere." Turunŋe ga da tu gamma nt'a ya. A ti jarinte da "O na toqqa kundu." Ke n ya ni hada-remme nan xawa n'a tu nan ti i ga na fo su nyi muxe wa, a wa bakku sella n na dalla dalla.

THE SMART HYENA

Death was passing everyone's door. It was going from house to house. The Hyena's mother died at this time. All the wild animals came to her interment because they could receive the same fate tomorrow. Two days after the burial, the weeping Hyena approached the Lion, King of all the Beasts, saying that his mother was no longer in her grave. The King beat the drum to assemble all the animals together, but he didn't get the one who had taken the Hyena's mother from her hole. The Vulture knew that the truth could not be spoken. Beating his wings, he said to the Lion "When the Hyena's mother died, I was here. When they were burying her corpse, I was here. When they were taking her body out of the grave, I was here in my place too." Then the Hyena saw that things weren't going to work out (as he planned). He said to the Lion "Let's forget about all of this." Human beings ought to remember that the things they hide will come out in the open sooner or later

DIALECT NOTES

DIALECT EXERCISE

The following story is written in the Nioro dialect of Soninke, one of the eastern variants of the language. Read the story carefully and, using your knowledge of Guidimaxa Soninke, substitute the appropriate northwestern words for the words underlined in the text. If you are going to be stationed in one of the eastern dialect towns, work this exercise in the other direction. That is, select one of the stories from the section on Folk Tales or Legends and convert it from northwestern Soninke to eastern Soninke.

DUNA

Maxambane n yugo nyi Seyibaanun-kiye n di, a sammu m'a ga dangini haqqe n na. A giri koota baane na kille n yugo raga. A do xusi-faranpare ri gemu; a faranpare nyi moxo buru. A ti "Ke xusune faranpare ni moxo-buru. A ga dunene, n ke wo rin'a yaxi." Xusune ke t'a da "Gilli n ke ga d'an wari, an pi liño n da. Ke n ya ni n ga sigi n'an dugu yere. N yaxita-nabure xa xote feti. An wo da kanu n di si-len-yaxare be ga da xaxa kabi ny'a ga ma saare. An wo rini t'a ya yere." Si n ny'a yimme maxa xaxa kabi a ma saare.

Xusune ke ti, "An wo n qatan," an ga na n kita, n wo yaxin'an na. Ke n ya ni n yaxita-nabure n na." I nyoro: xusune n wuru; maxambane n daga d'a ya. Nuqqu su a da tint'a ya, a na t'i wo bippi n'i kittu n caxundi a yonkola n kamma, xa a nta kitana." Xusune n da si n piri, a nta xa walli. A si n li tampi. A xenu. A kara. Maxambane ke sage rini kanu n di. A ti haare n da "N da xusi-len-paranpare wari. N d'a xata. N m'a kita. N ci kara." Haare n ti "Sumalle wutu n'a faga ji n na nan daga d'a batte n na." Yille n ga kare, a da sumalle n paga ji n na nan daga do xusune ke batte n na. A toxo dagana nan daga sumalle n ji n nyeme; a sanku; daaxu n d'a raga, a nyi rini kara. A ti, "Alla, n da xuso-faranpare wari. N d'a xata ti n ci n na. N ci kara. N da sumalle faga ji n na. N ji n nyeme." A taaxu. Alla da gede koy'a ya, a fakka ji n na. A giri nan tello gede ke ya. A d'i kittu n paga gede ke ji n di. Ji ke taye n nyi, a kittu n cu buyi. Yitte xoore nyi gede ke tate n na. A siraxu n qoore nyi moxo-siri. A tello yitte ke ya nan t'i wo taaxunu a sirafu n wure. Yitte ke sirau n nyi ga tawunta ji n taye n na. A giri xadi na kanu n cagata.

A ga ri kanu n di. A daga kati Haare n na, a ti, "N da n cumalle n paga ji n na, xa n ma xusune ke kita. N da gede wari, a fakka nyi ji n na, x'a ji n taye nyi moxo buru. N ma kata a mini. N li yitte xoore siraxu n wure, n ti n wo taaxunu nan tuuma a siraxu n nyi gan tawonta gede ke ji n na." Haare n ti "Xusune ke ga ni fibe ya n w'a kon'an da. Xusune ke ni Duna ya yi. Sare ra nt'a ragana. Yitte ke ni fasidaxu n ya yi. Gede ke ni xzo xosimantaxu n ya yi. Xusune ke ga ni Duna be ya. A nta xasono, a nta wattini, a nta kalla. Fo nu wo kalla; fo nu wo saarane. Xosimantaxu n w'a di. Fasidaaxu n w'a di.

THE WORLD

There was in the time of the prophets a certain young man; his gullibility surpassed his intelligence. One day he took to the road. He and a beautiful maiden came to meet; and she was extraordinarily beautiful. He said "This maiden is extraordinarily beautiful. If she accepts, I will marry her." The maiden said to him "Since I first saw you, you pleased me. That is why I stopped to wait for you here. My bride-price is not difficult. You must go into the village and bring back a filly that has not been brought down in nine years. You bring it here." He even had himself a filly that had not been brought down in nine years.

The maiden said "You are going to chase me; if you get me I will marry you. This will be my bride-price." They aligned themselves. The maiden ran off; the youth ran after her. Each time he got near her, he got down flat on his horse to put his hand out toward the top of her head, but he couldn't reach her. The maiden sped away so that she couldn't be seen. His horse began to suffer. It stumbled. It died. The young man returned to the village. He said to the prophet "I saw a beautiful maiden. I chased her. I couldn't attain her. My horse died." The prophet told him to get a water-skin and fill it with water so that he could go after the maiden. He walked and walked until the water was finished; he got lost, became seized with thirst, and he began to die. He cried "God, I saw a beautiful maiden. I pursued her on my horse. My horse died. I filled a water-skin with water. My water is finished. He sat down. God showed him a well full of water. He got up to go to the well. He filled his hands with water from the well. The water was very hot and his hands were burned. Near the well was a huge tree with dense shade. He wanted to go rest in the shade of the tree. However, the shade of the tree was hotter than the water from the well. He went back to the village. He went again to the prophet, saying "I filled my skin with water, but I did not get the maiden. I saw a well filled with water, but the water was abnormally hot. I did not succeed in drinking it. I went into the shade of a tree wishing to rest, but the shade of the tree was warmer than the water from the well." The Prophet said "I am going to tell you what this means, this girl. The girl is the World. No one can have her. The tree of which you speak is egotism. The well is the sign of evil and jealousy. The world that the maiden symbolizes will not grow old, nor fall ill, nor die. Some things die and others are born. Jealousy is always there. Evil is always present.

Traditional Areas and Dialects

DIALECT NOTES

The stories in this section, Turunne Haqqiri Line and Duna are from Oudiary Makan Datioko's Soninkan Dogomanu Do Kagoronu N Buruju. (Bamako, Mali; DNAFLA, 1977).

SONINKE AS A MANDE LANGUAGE

Africa is the most linguistically diverse area in the world if you measure population against the number of languages spoken. Some languages, like Swahili and Hausa, are very widespread and are spoken by many thousands of people as trade languages or lingua francas. Others are geographically restricted, spoken by a few hundred people at the most. Most African languages are unwritten and most are unstudied. In truth we do not even know how many of these languages exist, although we know the number to be in the thousands.

Furthermore, these tongues are not all related to each other. That is, they have not diverged from a common source as French and Italian and Spanish and Portuguese diverged from Latin. Instead we find a number of great language families, but the connections among them, if there are connections among them, are unknown. What this means is that we cannot even legitimately talk about "African languages" in other than a geographical sense. Talking about "African languages" as if they had something else in common would be as nonsensical as talking about "American languages" and including under this label American English, Apache, Chinese, Samoan, and all the other languages spoken within our national boundaries.

However, some languages in Africa can be said to be inter-related and it is very useful to know how they are. Why is it useful? Because if you know that two groups of people speak related languages, you can assume that there is an historical relationship between them.

There are two kinds of historical relationships possible between speakers of related tongues. They are either genetically related, meaning that they can trace their origins back to the same ancestors. Or they have come into contact during some historical period subsequent to their origin. In the latter case, we say that they speak related languages because one group (or both groups) has assimilated a language they did not originally speak. Many people of North American Indian ancestry are monolingual in English, for example, but this is because they gave up--or were forced to give up--their native languages and assimilated English. Now, when you are dealing with societies whose histories are unwritten, evidence of linguistic relationships becomes important evidence of social relationship.

Soninke is a member of a language group known as the Niger-Congo super-family. This super-family is composed of a number of sub-units or language families, just as human extended families are composed of individual household units. The internal composition of the sub-units--that is the language families--is not too difficult to figure out as the languages within them bear striking resemblances to each other. They have sounds in common; they share grammatical rules; they share similar vocabulary; if you speak one of them it is easier to learn another than it is to learn a language which is not in that family.

The language family of which Soninke is a member is the Mande language family. This family has two branches: northwestern and southeastern Mande, and each of these branches in turn has its subdivisions. Soninke is in the Northern division of the northwestern Mande branch. Also in this division--Soninke's sister languages, if you will, are Bambara-Mandinka-Dyula (which is a set of mutually intelligible dialects), and four other languages: Vai, Kono, Khassonke and Susu. The other division of the northwestern branch includes languages called Loma, Kpelle, Bandi, Mende and Loko. The other branch of the Mande family comprises Mano, Dan, Tura, Mwa, Nwa, Gan and Kweni (Southern Mande) and Sya, Samo, Bisa and Busa (Eastern Mande). You have probably heard less about these Mande languages than you have heard about Soninke's more famous "distant relatives": Ibo, Yoruba, Luganda, Swahili and Zulu.

To say that Soninke, a Mande language, is a distant relative of Zulu, a Bantu language, is to make a very abstract statement. What it means is that the ancestors of the people who spoke the original Mande language (which we call proto-Mande) and the ancestors of the people who spoke the original Bantu language (which we call proto-Bantu), were both descendants of a group of people who lived many thousands of years ago and who spoke a language we call proto-Niger-Congo. It does not mean that Soninke is a lot like Zulu. In fact, even if you knew Soninke very well and you knew Zulu very well, you still probably would not be able to see their resemblances. Even linguists trained in historical linguistics would have difficulty seeing them between two languages so distantly related. What you would have to do is look at the Bantu languages as a whole and the Mande languages as a whole before the common traits would appear. And you see all the traits much more clearly if you look at all the other language families within Niger-Congo as wholes. To put this back into human terms, you may not look at all like your second cousins or third cousins or fourth cousins, but if you had pictures of all the linking aunts and uncles, all the connecting grandmothers and grandfathers, you would see global family traits. The point is that languages, like people, share traits with their relatives, but not all of them have identical traits; therefore looking at individuals apart from their families is not very revealing.



If you look at an ethnic map of Africa and locate the Zulu, the Yoruba and the Ibo, you will find that they are very far away from the areas in which the Mande peoples live. This spatial separation mirrors the temporal separation of these peoples from their common source. Migrations have taken place; people have moved around--in fact, enormous distances. On the other hand, if you look at the map of the Mande languages in this section, you will see that they are pretty much contiguous. Furthermore, the languages classified in the same branch of Mande are closer together spatially than are languages from different branches. This seems to indicate the ancestors of the Mande people moved into this part of West Africa speaking a common language, which splintered into a number of mutually unintelligible sister languages as groups of people moved off on their own, founded their own communities, and lost contact with each other.

It takes a lot of time for one language to evolve into a set of mutually unintelligible languages, or for a language to change so much that contemporary speakers do not recognize the speech forms of earlier peoples. (If you have ever tried to read Chaucer or Beowulf you understand what this means.) Because we know that languages evolve slowly, we can assume that Mande-speaking peoples have been in their current location for thousands of years. They migrated into West Africa together from some eastern location (we can deduce this from the location of the non-Mande Niger-Congo languages), and they founded a number of splinter groups, which in turn splintered further. Within Northern Mande, the ancestors of the Vai probably broke off from the core group first, and the ancestors of the Soninke probably broke off next. Khassonke's ancestors stayed in contact with the ancestors of the Bambara and Maninke much longer, which is reflected in Khassonke's similarity to variants of Maninka. Thus, if we look at the languages closer, we find that they are tools of prehistory. They allow us to deduce a lot of information about modern people's very remote past, a history so far back in time that the people themselves do not remember it. Linguistic information goes hand-in-hand with archeological evidence and anthropological data to help us understand cultural history.

A SKETCH OF THE SONINKE*

The Soninke, also known as the Sarakole or Marka, are famous as travellers and merchants throughout West Africa. From the beginnings of their recorded history, they have voyaged far and wide in search of wealth and adventure; and even today, they continue to send significant segments of their population beyond the borders of their traditional regions. In ancient times, Soninke migrations followed the trade routes of cola, gold and slaves. Today their journeys bring their young men to African and European capitals in search of livelihood.

Soninke country is extremely dry and arid, situated as it is in the Sahelian zone where the borders of Mali and Mauritania join. The marginality of the natural environment has perhaps always been responsible for the Soninkes' need to travel, but this has certainly been true recently. The great droughts of the past decade have forced many agricultural peoples in this part of Africa to augment their traditional economic activities with new sources of income, and the Soninke respond to this economic instability by exporting their young men as laborers to foreign lands. The cash these workers acquire is used to purchase the traditional Soninke staples of millet and rice, two crops severely affected by environmental alterations. Some cash is used to buy consumer goods, but it is also heavily invested in Soninke businesses and in Soninke villages.

Before European contact, the Soninke were organized into a series of regional federations or triblets, the triblets composed in turn of several clans. Each Soninke province or region was governed by a monarch or tunka selected from among the members of the ruling chiefly clan. The tunka was assisted by a council of notables representing the other clans in the federation. The notables, or Xirise, were the oldest male members--in other words, the person closest in age to the founder--of each of the region's non-ruling clans.

Every Soninke village had a chief or debe-gume, who was the oldest male descendant of the village's founder. Like the tunka, he was advised by a council of elders representing the clans and lineages present within that residence unit. Under the debe-gume, there were sometimes smaller political structures to represent neighborhoods or quarters. Thus, Soninke political organization was pyramidal, the structures on one level mirroring the structures on all the other levels.

Being profoundly Moslem, the Soninke adjudicated disputes and crimes according to Islamic law. Judges, selected from among the maraboutic clans, were expected to mete out punishments and decide cases according to the tenants of the Malakite sect of Islam.

*This sketch is taken from Bokar Ndiay's *Les groupes ethniques au Mali* (1970, Bamako: Editions populaires.)

A Sketch of the Soninke

Soninke society was tri-partate. At the top of the social heap were the nobles (horo) or freemen, who were in turn divided into the rulers (tunkas) and the marabouts (moodi). Opposed to them, in the sense that neither they nor the nobles had professional status, were the slaves (komo). Like the class of the nobles, the slave class had its own internal structure, and was divided into great slaves and "regular" slaves. The slaves were in general captives or descendants of captives, which explains why many komoni had the patronyms of Bambara nobles. (That is, when the Soninke and the Bambara went to war, it was the noble class on both sides who supplied the warriors. This means that Bambara nobles taken in a battle became Soninke slaves and vice-versa. It also meant that the children of either side's captives would be slaves thereafter, since a noble reduced to slave status could never return to his own people. The shame would be too great.)

The professional or artisan class were the nyaxamala. They formed a series of castes that did not intermarry with the slaves or the nobles, and among whom marriage was strictly regulated. The blacksmith clans were called tago (singular: tage). They made axes, hoes, knives, spades, doors, tools and jewelry of all sorts. Their wives, who were also tago, made pottery.

The garanke (leatherworkers) made cords, shoes and boots, slippers, bridles, saddles, bits, harnesses, skin-mats, and amulets. Their wives did tattooing. The griot caste was divided into two groups: jaare and gesere, both of whom functioned as masters of ceremonies, historians, genealogists, marriage-brokers and go-betweens for all the other castes. Each caste has a set of patronyms or jamu associated with it, although these varied from region to region. Most Soninkes, given someone's patronym and place of origin, can deduce the social class of the bearer.

Life Cycle

When a Soninke woman was about to give birth, she would return to her natal village, or at any rate to her mother's house, to await the child. She was assisted at her delivery by her mother and a midwife, and two of her mother's companions. No men were allowed to be present. The midwife delivered the infant, cut and tied the umbilical cord, washed it with warm water and proceeded to mold its head gently into a pleasing round shape. The new mother received a drink of herbs, and was permitted to lie quietly for a short while after the birth. About a half an hour after the delivery, the mother was encouraged to walk around her mother's kompe several times to expel any bad blood; then she was given some porridge to eat. These small operations completed, the father was presented with his new infant. He carried the news to friends and neighbors, then he and his wife received company to celebrate their joy. No real ceremony accompanied the birth, although the father sometimes sacrificed a sheep in honor of his child, and all the family partook of its meat.

One week after the birth, the child was baptized. On the baptismal day the mother, dressed in her finest clothes and surrounded by bards, parents, relatives and well-wishers, installed herself on the veranda of the house where she had given birth. An Imam then arrived to give the child the name of a Moslem saint, selected according to the day of the child's birth. The father in turn pronounced the name he wished to give the child, as did the mother when her turn arrived. The Imam then gave the child gri-gri, or leather-bound Koranic amulets, to protect it from devils and sorcerers. The name-giving ceremony was accompanied by a ritual shaving of the child's head. The Imam who had given the name took a sheep furnished by the father. At the moment that he put his knife to the sheep's throat to sacrifice it, a griot put his knife against the child's scalp, so that the ritual shaving and the ritual sacrifice could take place simultaneously. The infant's hair, placed in a basket with some grains of millet and rice, was blessed by the Imam in a loud voice, and the ceremony concluded with a distribution of the sacrificed sheep's meat, prior to a general feasting.

Males attained majority at eighteen, at which time they could inherit property and manage their own affairs. In general, however, they did not marry before the age of twenty. A female attained majority at fifteen, but this meant little in actuality, as her father chose her marriage partner for her and managed all her affairs until she wed, even being responsible for property she inherited from her mother. Should her father die before she reached majority, she could, upon turning fifteen, assume responsibility for herself. This rarely happened however, since Soninke traditions put heavy emphasis on the guiding role of elders. The more usual practice was to put the affairs of an orphaned girl in the hands of her father's brother until such time as the girl wed.

Parents selected their children's mates. A young man could refuse the bride his father chose for him, in which case the parents would make another selection, but a young woman was duty-bound to accept her father's choice. If she tried to refuse, her father would use persuasion and/or force to change her mind. In extreme cases, where a young girl not only refused to accept her bridegroom, but also fought off his attempts to consummate a forced marriage, she would be punished severely. Her head shaven, she would be forced to dress and work as a man in the fields. Such tactics, plus Soninke regard for tradition, discouraged disobedience to parental will.

Pre-nuptial negotiations between the family of the prospective bridegroom and the prospective bride were handled with the *nyaxamala* acting as go-betweens. Usually the young man's uncle, that is his father's younger brother, would approach the girl's father through an intermediary, asking for her hand. There was generally a period of discussion and consideration on the part of the young woman's group before any proposal could be accepted. Nevertheless, when a marriage contract was negotiated, that was not the end of it. In principle, the

A Sketch of the Soninke

young man had to undergo a series of trials, or furnish a series of services to the bride's family before he could claim her.

On the day of the wedding, final negotiations are made, the dowry given, and the ceremony conducted. Virginity being highly valued among the Soninke, the bride's under-pagne would be displayed after the consummation of the marriage to all and sundry. If the woman were not a virgin, she would not be rejected, but her husband could use this all their married life as leverage in marital arguments. On the other hand, a woman whose bridal pague showed the blood of maidenhood could always point out to her husband in times of marital difficulty that she had come to his bed chaste.

For one week after the wedding, the bride was confined to the marriage chamber. She was attended by women who bathed and cared for her, and who made aphrodisiacal potions to excite her and to guard her husband's interest.

If a woman was widowed, divorced or repudiated, she could marry again without her parents' consent, although normally she would seek to obtain it.

The Soninke practiced, and still practice, marriage according to Islamic codes. This means that a man may have more than one wife, so long as he follows these prescriptions:

- (1) he cannot marry a widow who is in mourning or a divorcee until after a period of three months. This is to insure that the proper paternity of a child can be established if the woman discovers herself to be pregnant before the wedding;
- (2) he cannot marry more than four free (noble) women;
- (3) he cannot marry his sisters, nor his mother, daughters, aunts, nieces, the mother of his wife, his wife's sister, his wife's daughter, nor his own half-sister.

Marriages can be terminated by death, divorce or repudiation. A man can repudiate his wife and then take her back, but he must wait a period of three months before doing so. He cannot repudiate his wife definitively in the presence of four women or two men and then take her back, and for this reason, definitive repudiations are rarely pronounced. There are two varieties of divorce: one informal and agreed to by mutual consent, the other effected by Islamic justice.

Adultery was punished by death if the adulterous act was confirmed by four witnesses and if both parties to the adulterous act were married. Where only one member of the pair was married, that one received a hundred lashes. In principle, the adulterous married person is always killed.

When a person dies, his or her kinswomen commence with the keening and wailing that announces that person's demise. Youths are dispatched to dig a grave and to notify others, and a marabout is called to wash the body. If the dead person is a woman, the marabout's wife performs the mortuary washings. The body's orifices are closed with perfumed cotton, which is also placed on the eyes and in the joints and crevices. The body is carried to a cemetery and interred with Moslem rites and prayers. The person's head is placed in the south side of the grave, the feet are oriented toward the north. Before closing the grave, the burial party turns the head of the corpse so that he or she faces the east for eternity. The grave is covered with stones and earth, with spiny acacia branches and pebbles, and finally is marked with a headstone and footstone. Burial is swift, as the funeral takes place afterward.

The funeral consists of lamentations and prayers and a funeral dinner. The marabout who washed the corpse and the Imam who prayed over it are thanked with speeches prepared by one of the griots, and the family of the deceased retires to mourn privately.

Three days after, the relatives of the dead person give a sacrifice of millet to the Imam, who blesses it for another ritual meal. This meal is shared by Imams and marabouts who presided at the ceremony. The clothes the deceased was wearing before he or she died are blessed and given to the person who performed the funeral ablutions. A man's wife or wives mourned for him for four months and ten days, during which time they partially veiled themselves and engaged in spinning and carding cotton for cloth. Forty days after the death, a commemorative service for the dead is performed.

One other major life crisis was recognized in the Soninke life cycle: the assumption of adulthood. For males, this was linked to circumcision; for females, it was linked to the onset of menarchy.

Little boys were circumcised in age sets. That is, a number of boys more or less the same age were circumcised together at a single ceremony, usually during the rainy season. Dancing and song filled the week preceding the actual ritual, while the night before, the entire village gathered to celebrate the event. On the day of circumcision, the boys' mothers prepared ritual drinks and medicines, along with the outfits the newly-circumcised youths were to wear. The boys were brought before the circumcising blacksmith by youths who had been circumcised the previous year. The blacksmith's face was hideously painted and he contorted it to frighten the children. To evidence their manliness, the little boys were supposed to defy the blacksmith by pulling up their tunics and demanding he "cut it all off." The blacksmith would then seize the foreskin, pull it towards him and remove it surgically. The foreskin was then given to the boy's mother, who dried it and had it sewn into a gri-gri, which the youth then wore for the rest of his life.

A Sketch of the Soninke

After the circumcision ceremony, the newly circumcized boys were taken from the village for three weeks and instructed in the secrets of Soninke men. The time of their retreat over, the youths returned to the village, and were allowed to kill any fowl they saw on that day. They could slaughter larger beasts too, so long as they used only game sticks and lances. However, the carnage generally falls on the poultry population that day. The meat of this slaughter was divided among the attendants and instructors who helped the age set through this rite of passage and among the youths themselves. There followed another week-long retreat, this time inside the village, during which the youths were expected to construct long pants to wear upon emerging. "Taking long trousers" symbolized adult status and manhood. It was the final ceremony in this month-long circumcision rite.

Today many Soninke have their boys circumcized in hospitals and dispensaries. This rite of passage takes place at a much earlier age in general than it did in the past, so the association between adult status and circumcision has been broken. The boys are still circumcized in groups however, so the idea of age mates retains its force from earlier times.

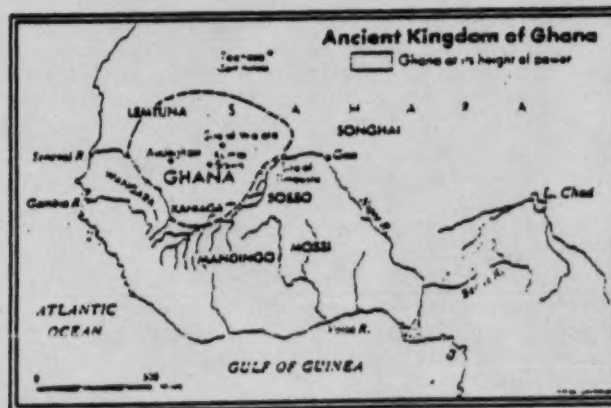
Female children are circumcized (excised or clitoridectomized) the day after their baptism. Their assumption of adult status was not, and is not today, dependent upon this procedure. Young girls become young women when they "take the pagne," trading their children's aprons or g-strings for the adult woman's wrapper. Each step in a woman's life cycle is signified by a special hairdo, starting in childhood and progressing through maidenhood, matronhood, motherhood, old womanhood and, finally, death.

Summary

In concluding his ethnographic description of the Soninke, Ndiaye comments that these people are known for their tenacity and obduracy. Another way of putting this is that the Soninke have held fast to their traditional ways in spite of being some of the best-travelled and most sophisticated people in West Africa. They have maintained stable, settled populations for centuries on the very edges of uninhabitable regions, which means that their adaptability and cleverness is attested to by their own remarkable capacity for survival. Most Soninke males have been abroad; they have seen Dakar, or Paris or New York, Abidjan or Bamako or Nouakchott. Yet they continue to return to their villages in the Sahel and to live their lives as their ancestors lived theirs. They are progressive and conservative at the same time, but their conservatism is totally understandable in view of their history. Soninke life-ways are proven. Thirteen centuries of successful adaptation to a hostile environment demonstrate this.

THE GHANA EMPIRE

In 1067--just one year after the Norman invasion of England, the North African historian Al Bakri finished his description of the Kingdom of Ghana, a Sudanic Empire established well before Mohammed's flight to Medina in 622 A.D. The Ghana Empire (which is not the same as the modern Republic of Ghana) lay to the north and west of the upper Niger River, extending from Timbuktu in the east to eastern Senegal in the west. Its northern limits were defined by the territories of the Berber pastoralists and its southern boundaries with the Senegal and Niger rivers. Thus, this early African state was strategically located in the middle of the gold trade routes.



Its sources of wealth were in fact trade and tribute. The merchants of the Ghana Empire were middlemen in an elaborate system of international economic exchange, where gold from the south was traded for salt, cowries, copper and dried fruits from the north. The king of Ghana exacted one dinar of gold for each donkey-load of salt entering his territory, and two dinars of gold for each donkey load-leaving it. His ability to impose this system of taxation was guaranteed by a standing army of 200,000 men, well equipped with iron weapons and bows and arrows.

According to Al Bakri, the capital of the Ghana Empire had two cities about 10 kilometers apart. One contained the King's fortress and residence, the other a dozen mosques. The second city was the domain of Muslim merchants and scholars, where science and commerce flourished. The king's city was the stronghold of Soninke animists. This meant that Ghanan society encompassed segregated communities, where the ruling pagan Soninke relied heavily on the services and expertise of Muslim advisors.

The Ghana Empire

Al Bakri's description indicates that the kings of Ghana were venerated as divine personages:

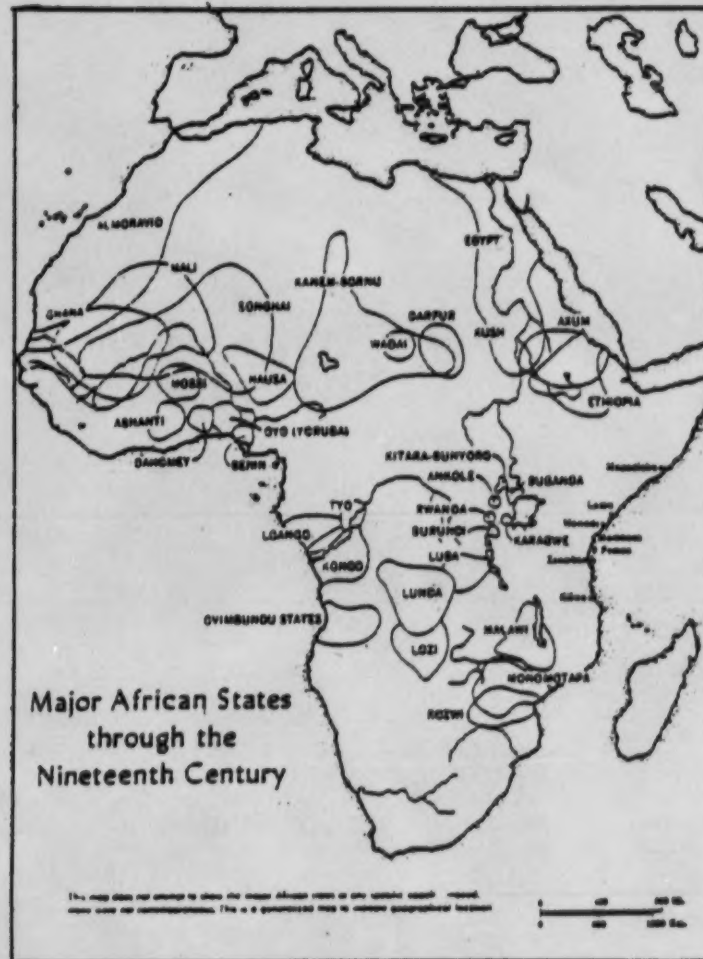
When their king dies, they build over the place where his tomb will be an enormous dome of saj wood. Then they bring him on a bed covered with a few carpets and cushions and put him inside the dome. At his side they place his ornaments, his weapons and his vessels from which he used to eat and drink, filled with various kinds of food and beverages. They also place there the men who had served his meals. They close the door of the dome and cover it with mats and materials and then they assemble the people who heap earth upon it until it becomes like a large mound. They dig a ditch around the mound so that it can be reached only at one place. They sacrifice victims for their dead and make offerings of intoxicating drinks. (Quoted in Gann and Duignan's Africa and the World, Chandler Publishing, 1972, p. 209.)

In life the kings ruled autocratically, backing up their dictates with a formidable machinery of coercion. Subjects who disobeyed their will were imprisoned for life or eliminated outright, but in any case, they disappeared swiftly and permanently. When a king had an audience, he sat in a pavilion surrounded with the finest horses caparisoned in cloth of gold. Pages with gold-mounted shields and swords attended him, and on his right hand sat the princes of the Empire. His advisors and marshalls sat at his feet. The chamber was guarded by dogs "of excellent breed," wearing collars of silver and gold.

The wealth and splendor of the Ghana kings' courts attracted the attention of Arab travellers and chroniclers, their pagan ways attracted the religious fervor of Moslem purists. Sweeping in from the eastern Sahara, the Berber Almoravids attacked and captured Ghana in about 1076, converting all of its citizens to Islam. Thus in the eleventh century, the Islamicized Soninke became middlemen in the spread of the Moslem faith, just as they had been brokers in the gold and salt trade. Nevertheless the Islamicization of the Soninke spelled the end of the Ghana Empire. The authority of the king broken, and his great armies dissolved, the cities of Ghana fell into decay. By the thirteenth century, it had ceased to exist, its territories ravaged by the neighboring Sosso, a Mande-speaking people from the south.

The Ghana Empire was succeeded by the Mali Empire, established in 1213 by Allakoi Keita, and spread by the great Mande king Sunjata. By 1240 Sunjata overthrew the Sosso rulers who had captured the cities of the dying Ghana Empire, driving them out and founding his own capitals on the upper Niger. The Mali Empire, in turn, was supplanted by the Songhai kingdom, one of the largest and most powerful of the pre-colonial Sudanic states. All of these early empires--Ghana, Mali and Songhai--were founded on common political institutions. All had rulers who were considered divine and whose personal well-being and vigor were identified with the state of the society they ruled. Their

offices were hereditary, as were many of the bureaucratic officers which supported them, and these well-defined and coercive social structures tended to eliminate the kind of factionalism evident in European political institutions.



The modern Soninke, then, trace their heritage to the first of these mighty West African states. They are justifiably proud of their participation in the development of complex and sophisticated political structures, and in their role as spreaders of Islam. Their myths and fables about the Kingdom of Wagadou make reference to the Ghana Empire. The city of Kumbi mentioned in these mythological accounts is almost certainly the city of Kumbi described by Al Bakri as the capital of Ghana.

THE SONINKE AND THEIR NEIGHBORS

Within the Guidimaxa and in other traditional Soninke regions, various populations share or compete for natural resources. The Soninke have both sedentary neighbors like themselves, (namely the Khassonke, Malinke, and Bambara), and they have nomadic and semi-nomadic neighbors who move into and out of their territory according to the seasons. These latter are primarily represented by the Moor's (also written Maure), the Peul or Fula, and the Toucouleurs.

The Bambara and Malinke are related linguistically and culturally to the Soninke, sharing many cultural and social practices as well as large amounts of recognizably similar vocabulary. The Peul and Toucouleur are related to each other, but not to the Mande language-speaking Soninke. The Khassonke, a special case, speak a Mande language very similar to Soninke, yet they claim not to be related either to them or to the Bambara. The Moors trace their origins to North Africa and thus consider themselves entirely separate from all of these black African populations.

The Sedentary Neighbors

A. The Khassonke

The Khassonke occupy a small ethnic enclave to the south and east of Kayes, Mali. Their territory is divided into two great eco-zones: one arid and hilly, the other flat and fertile. They are excellent agriculturalists and adapt their farming practices to the climate and topography of the lands. Their primary crops are millet, rice and sorghum, but they also raise beans, peanuts, okra, gourds, manioc, yams, sweet potatoes, onions, wild tomatoes, peppers, tobacco, cotton and indigo. They also keep livestock--primarily sheep and goats--and occasionally larger ruminants.

Like the Soninke and the Bambara, the Khassonke have an artisan or professional class of people, a class of nobles and a class of slaves. The caste people, or nyamakala, comprise the Numu (blacksmiths), the garanke (leatherworkers), the Mabo (praise-singers), jali (griots) and sakke (woodworkers). Khassonke Horongo correspond to Soninke Horoni, and their long correspond to Soninke komonj, or slaves.

Khassonke political organization is based on the notion of federated villages, with a set of village chiefs who are responsible for the administrative well-being of their subjects, reporting to regional chiefs who are representatives of the king. The Khassonke king, or fankama, was traditionally selected from among the descendants of the founder of the ruling clan and creator of Khassonke constitutional structure. Khassonke kings could be deposed if they acted foolishly, but their successors must nevertheless be of kingly blood. Today, of course, the Khassonke abide by the laws of the Republic of Mali.

Legal disputes were handled by the head of household if they were within a family, by the village chief if they were between families, and by the chief of the region if they were between villages. The fankama was the ultimate jural authority and he could be appealed to for aid by litigants from lower tribunals.

Officers of the courts occasionally turned to divination ascertaining a party's innocence or guilt, as the following passages from Monteil (cited in Ndiaya, p. 237-238) demonstrate:

Autre procédé qui relève aussi de la suggestion. L'enclume du forgeron, qui sert, comme nous le verrons, à recevoir des serments graves, peut aussi permettre de découvrir les coupables, quand elle accepte cette mission. Pour être fixé à cet égard, le forgeron, sollicité par la victime ou les ayants droit, range ses outils autour de l'enclume, invoque ses ancêtres puis, ayant écrasé ensemble un grain de maïs, un piment et un peu de soude, il saisit par les pattes un jeune poulet qu'il égorge sur l'enclume; le sang étant tari, il jette le poulet à terre. Si le poulet, ayant cessé de vivre, a les pattes contre le sol ou parallèles à l'enclume, c'est signe que celle-ci refuse la mission dont on veut la charger; si, au contraire, le poulet a les pattes en l'air et tournées vers le forgeron, l'enclume accepte et alors le forgeron le clame à tous les échos. Le bruit s'en répand dans le village et aux alentours et le coupable à qui cette nouvelle parvient s'empresse d'avouer sa faute car, à la première indisposition, il s'imagine être victime des malédictions du forgeron et de ses ancêtres: il accourt, heureux de s'en tirer en payant une forte amende au chef du pays, des cadeaux au forgeron et une réparation à la victime.

Les formes du serment sont nombreuses et très variables. Les serments les plus couramment employés sont:

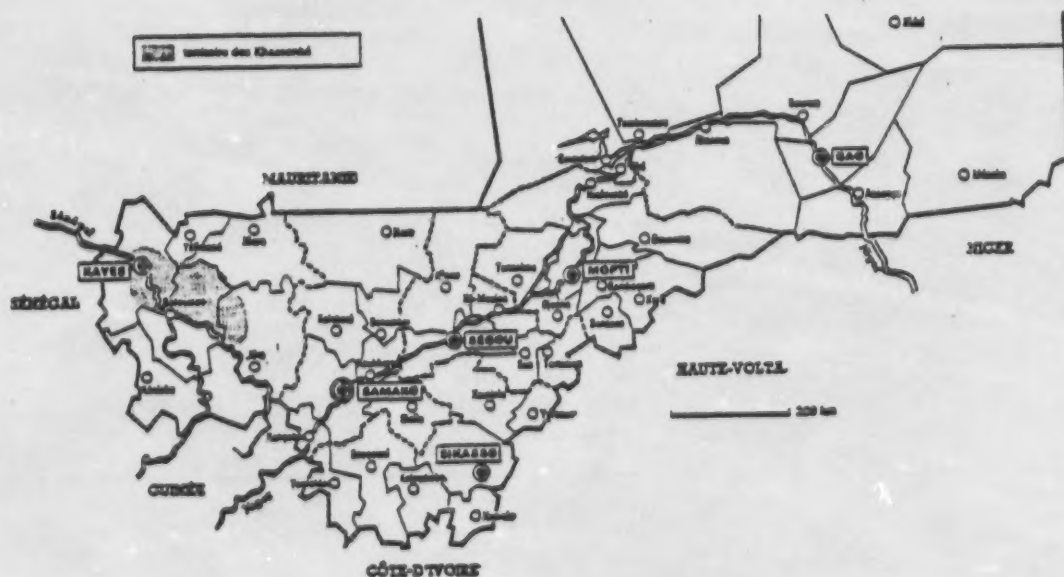
1. le serment sur l'enclume au cours duquel le forgeron invoque ses ancêtres et leur demande de <prendre le coeur et le foie de celui qui prêterait un faux serment et de le tuer>. Le refus de l'une des parties de venir affirmer, à haute voix, devant l'enclume que ce qu'elle a dit est la vérité et qu'elle est prête à subir les conséquences du serment au cas où elle aurait menti, équivaut à un aveu;

2. le serment sur la cola: en l'occurrence on sillonne une noix de cola d'entailles au couteau dans toute sa longueur; après quoi celui qui doit prononcer le serment la pique avec une aiguille en prononçant les mots suivants: <cola, prends mon coeur et mon foie et tue-moi si j'ai menti> puis il croque la noix.

The Soninke's Neighbors

Les peines prévues par la coutume sont, selon les cas: la flagellation, l'amende plus ou moins élevée, la confiscation des biens, la mise aux fers, le bannissement, l'esclavage, la mutilation et la mort.

Despite their resemblance to the Mande peoples around them, the Khossonke trace their origins to Fula sources. Their patronyms are Peul rather than Soninke or Bambara, and their physical types are said by some to resemble the nomadic groups rather than the sedentary ones. It is however almost certainly the case that Khassonke claims to Fulani ethnicity recognize an historic association between the Fula and some Mande language speaking peoples, probably offshoots of the Maninka. The ethnographer Monteil feels that several centuries ago a Mande tribe affiliated with the Fula as allies in war. Since this federation successfully protected the lives and economic interests of all its partners, the people of the Khasson (that is, the Khassonke) acknowledge the founding of the alliance as the beginnings of their own cultural existence. This would explain their insistence on a separate ethnic identity from the Mande tribes around them and at the same time account for the fact that linguistically and socially their closest relatives are those very Mande tribes.



B. The Malinke or Maninka

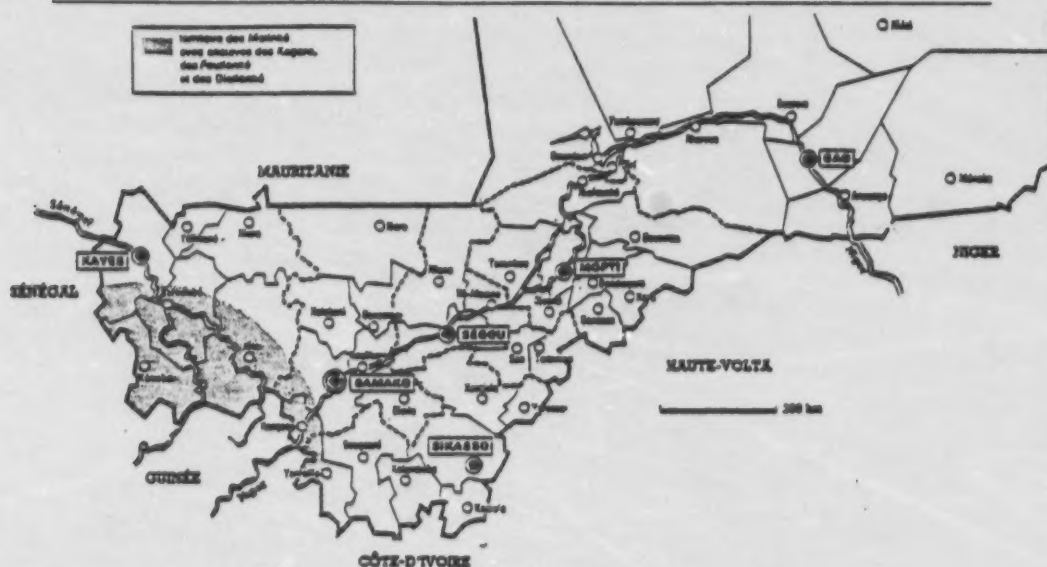
The Malinke trace their origins to the founders of the Mali Empire, which, you will recall, arose and flourished after the fall of the Ghana Kingdom. Apparently, long before the founding of Mali, the ancestors of the Maninka lived in a number of autonomous agricultural villages in what is now southwestern Mali and northeastern Guinea. These villages were linked by ties of kinship, although originally their internal governance was supposed to have been independently managed. There is some speculation that voluntary associations of hunters (that is groups of armed men noted for their skill with bows and arrows and for their bravery in the face of extreme danger), formed inter-village alliances which eventually led to more large scale political or military organization. In any case, by the thirteenth century the Maninka certainly had a powerful military. Their famous general Sunjata conquered Sumanguru, king of the Sosso, and extended the domain of the Mande Empire all the way to the Gambia, which is to say, all the way to the Atlantic Ocean.

The Maninka today live in small villages which constitute their basic political and social units. The village chief is the oldest descendent of the founder of the village, and the rule of succession is from elder brother to younger brother. Should there not be a younger brother to inherit, succession is from father to son.

The Maninka, like the Soninke, Bambara and Khassonke, have a tripartite social structure with nobles, caste people and slaves. In addition, they have a number of voluntary associations formed for religious, social and economic purposes that cross-cut the hereditary social categorizations. There are youth societies, women's societies, men's societies, and, of course, the famous hunter's association. The hunters are men who hunt to sustain themselves individually, or who hunt as a service, (that, is to eliminate the predatory animals that raid the rice fields). These men band together into social brotherhoods or fraternities, which are the repositories of an extraordinary wealth of traditional wisdom and lore, as well as a well-spring of occult and natural science information. They have their own songs, chants and dance, their own forms of magic and necromancy, their own initiation rites, costumes, social rules and governance, and their own particularly strong feelings of social solidarity. The modern hunter's society has evolved from an association that probably had more economic functions in the past, but its important social functions guarantee its continued existence into the future.

Today the Maninke are generally Muslim, although formerly they, like the Bambara, were animists. There are still remnants of traditional secret societies in the Mande, and still traces of traditional religious practices mingled with Islamic ones. The Maninka cannot be compared to the Soninke in their devotion to Islam. The latter received the "ways of the Prophet" with an ardor that is unrivalled among their Mande relatives.

The Soninke's Neighbors



C. The Bambara

The Bambara form the largest ethnic population in Mali. They have spread to all the major towns and cities of the country, and thus, find their way into the important Soninke regional capitals. Most Soninke merchants and scholars speak Bambara fluently, because a great deal of social and commercial exchange takes place between these groups.

The "core" Bambara area is in the vicinity of Segou, Mali, although traditions place the origin of this group further south in the Wassalou. Wherever their homeland, the Bambara had spread northward to the valley of the Niger River by the 7th century, and followed the river east toward Dejenne. Here they were attacked and conquered by the Peul, and ultimately driven back to the Segou region, with which their history is subsequently associated.

Bambara social organization is typically Mande. The three class system overlies a set of extended families, which in fact form the minimal social units. Within the hereditary social classes, the family head or head of household is the oldest male, usually the eldest brother of a set of brothers. This senior man is responsible for the conduct and well being of members of the family. If a household is composed of a number of small family units (say, composed of three or four brothers and their wives and children), the fathers of the smaller units have a say within their own units, but the senior male can overrule them if it is in the interests of the larger group to do so. Families work collectively for their mutual benefit under the direction of the senior male. Women's activities are generally directed by the senior male's wife (that is, his first wife if he has more than one). The head wife,

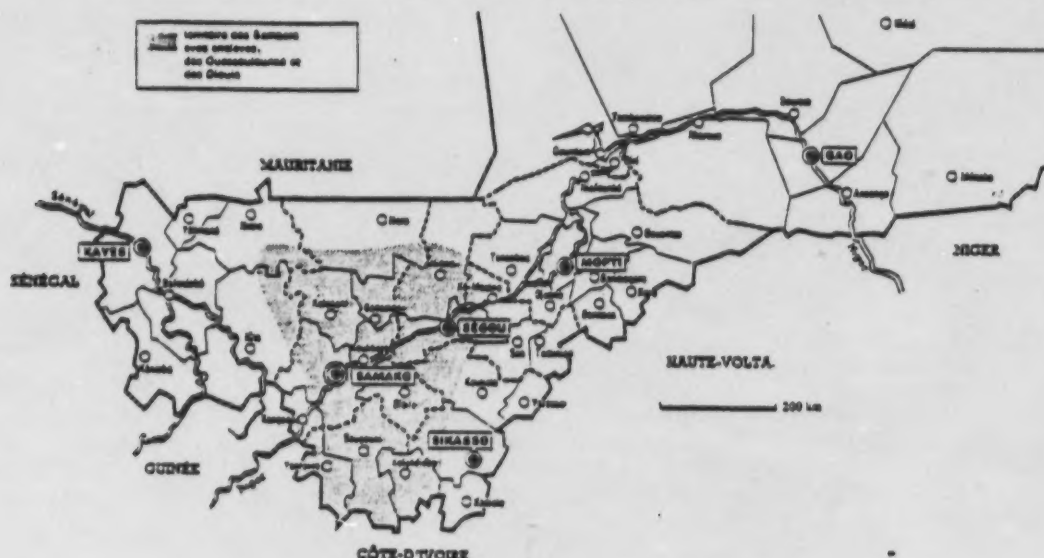
or mbara muso, is responsible for domesticated animals, for the administration of economic activities that center on the courtyard (cooking, food preparation, and so forth), and for the management of all the children of the family. She gives morally edifying instruction to younger wives and children, and assumes responsibility for the comportment at home.

Among the Bambara, as among the other Mande groups, descent is traced through males. A child is born into the patrilineage of his father, although he or she has ties of affection to the mother's clan as well. A woman's children are not, strictly speaking, members of her own family, but belong to her husband's group. Her brother's children are, on the other hand, members of her patrilineage because they are descendents of one of that group's male members. It is clear that father's sisters are important and influential individuals for children in patrilineally-organized societies because they have the moral authority of the clan on their side. They can suggest marriage partners for their brother's sons and daughters, and they can lay out courses of action for them because they are elders in the children's patri-clan.

While many Bambara are Islamicized today, there still exist a number of animist and fetisheurs among them. These non-Moslem Bambara have ancestor cults and secret societies; they practice divination and magic, and they brew alcoholic beverages from millet. (Tauxier describes Bambara religion in his massive work La Religion Bambara, Librairie Orientalist, Paris.) The Moslem Bambara follow the dictates of Islam, although traces of traditional practices find their way into their version of Mohammed's religion.

Relations between the Bambara and the Soninke are generally friendly and positive. There is some intermarriage between these groups and a great deal of social exchange and cooperation. A significant number of Bambara have moved into Soninke regions as laborers to offset the drain on the labor force resulting from the wholesale emigration of Soninke males elsewhere. For example, many Bambara go to Soninke towns as government workers and administrators, primarily because civil service positions are largely filled by Bambara men and women. (Nioro, Nara, Banamba and especially Yelimani, in Mali--and Selibabi in Mauritania--are actually highly mixed ethnically, although people think of them as Soninke strongholds.) Whenever conditions find government workers side by side with merchants, Bambara and Soninke will be represented.

The Soninke's Neighbors



Nomadic and Semi-Nomadic People

A. The Moors

The Moors' territory is extensive, as they move their livestock according to the seasons back and forth across national boundaries. Moor settlements can be found throughout Mauritania (the country is in fact named for them), and along the Niger River in Mali, from Niore to Gao and beyond. Descendants of the Berbers of North Africa, the Moors speak a dialect of Arabic, are light-skinned and Moslem.

Politically the Moors organize themselves into tribes headed by cheiks or headmen. The office of cheik is hereditary, passing from father to son, rather than from a man to his next oldest brother. The cheik is in principle the representative of a council of elders, which is the actual seat of power in Moorish society. The headman does not rule, rather he announces the decisions of this council. His personal power is limited; his ability to command extends only so far as his tribesmen are willing to suffer it. If he is wise and good, and acts in the interests of the group, his people will listen. If he is foolish, they will not. He is charged with the administration of justice through the Islamic courts, but even in this area, he acts as the representative of another body and not according to his own personal desires.

Moorish social organization distinguishes (1) aristocrats or nobles, which includes the warriors, as among the Soninke, (2) the marabouts, who are not nobles, but who nevertheless occupy an elevated social rank, (3) the "non-warrior nobles", (4) the vassals, (5) the freed slaves, and (6) two categories of ordinary slaves. Moors also have

blacksmith and griots, but their functions are nowhere near as important as they are among the Mande peoples.

Moorish families are not corporate groups. That is, there are no clans, no sets of economic attributes, religious observances or internal judiciary functions which are owned by extended families or lineages. Each household owns its own property, manages its own flocks and makes its own products. This means that Moor families are autonomous units, unlike the large-scale extended families found elsewhere in this part of the world. The head of the family is a moral leader, but he does not have discretionary power over the members of his household. The Moors, in other words, are individualistic and independent.

Female Moors of the noble families do not work. Their domestic duties are fulfilled by female slaves, so they lead comparatively luxurious lives for African women. The males in general do not perform manual labor, but are shepherds or pastoralists. They raise sheep, goats, camels, donkeys and cattle, the latter two serving as mounts for females and males respectively.

Moors count their wealth in their flocks and slaves. Because their beasts require grass and water, the Moors must move them several hundred kilometers each year as they consume the resources of particular areas. The cattle routes individual families follow were established hundreds of years ago by their ancestors, so migration patterns are predictable and stable. They know the plants along these routes, know their economic and medicinal values as well as their nutritional potential. What they do not collect for their own use, they collect to sell to others. They do a thriving commerce in gum arabic and jujubee fruits to supplement their income from animal husbandry.

For crafts, the Moors excel at jewelry. They also make exceptional leather objects and baskets, but they neither spin, weave, nor dye, which means that all their cloth products must be imported.

The conditions of their existence require that the Moors limit their material possessions drastically. Their tents, mats, and cooking utensils, their few items of jewelry and their saddles and harnesses are all completely portable, while their animals and slaves, which are the basis of their feelings of well-being and security, are independently mobile. Their life-ways also require that Moors be strong and hardy so that they can tolerate some of the most hostile physical environments known to human beings. The Moors are extremely proud of their self-sufficiency, independence and "toughness." Moreover, they consider their forms of existence morally superior to that of their neighbors, if not absolutely noble. This occasionally brings them into conflict with sedentary groups, who try to establish habitation sites along the Moors' traditional migration routes and with governmental agencies who try to control Moor access to natural resources or impose other styles of living on them.

On the other hand, drought in the Sahel has been more threatening to the Moors' traditional ways than any other factor. The degradation of the natural environment has resulted in the decimation of their herds, which means that the whole basis of their economy has been undercut. In other words, this group, which has endured harsh climate for centuries and which has evolved social organizations perfectly adapted to it, must now readjust to even harsher conditions or give up their old ways. They are a people whose future hangs in the balance.

B. The Peul and Toucouleur

The Fula tribes have a tradition of coming to the valley of the Senegal River from the north or east. Whatever their ultimate origins, they have been in West Africa for centuries. Their language, one of the tongues of the West Atlantic family, diverges significantly from other members of this group, and this sort of linguistic divergence is usually taken to be evidence of great age. The peoples who call themselves Toucouleur speak the same language as the Fulani with minor dialectal variations, which justifies treating these two groups together for the purpose of this study.

Both the Toucouleur and Fulani trace their recorded history to the Tekrou Empire, a great African state which existed contemporaneously with the Kingdom of Ghana. This Empire, like the Ghana Empire, depended upon trade and agriculture and thus rivaled the Soninke state. It was an Islamic society from the eleventh century onward, one of the earliest, if not the first, of the black African kingdoms to adopt this religion.

After the fall of the Tekrou Empire, Fula and Toucouleur groups established themselves in and around the Senegal Valley and the Fouta-Jallon. In the nineteenth century, a Toucouleur leader, El Hadj Oumar Tall, led a jihad, or religious war, against the indigenous populations of the Niger River Valley in present day Mali. Being successful, they founded a new Toucouleur Empire there. El Hadj Oumar and his sons conquered the Bambara, Malinke, Khassonke, Dogon and eastern Fulani, (and even engaged the French at Bakel unsuccessfully), to forge this Toucouleur state, spreading Islam throughout Mali in the process.

The present day Peul and Toucouleur co-exist peacefully with the Bambara and Soninke, frequently entering a kind of economic symbiosis with them. Fula and Toucouleur shepherds care for these agricultural peoples' herds, in return for which they receive meat, milk, grain and agricultural products. The nomadic and semi-nomadic Fulani bring their cattle into Soninke villages and pen them up to create fertilized fields in which Soninke cultivators plant their crops. The Fula woodworkers (sakke) produce bowls and spoons for Soninke women, and repair objects damaged through use.

Like the Mande groups in this part of the world, the Peul and Toucouleur organize themselves into hereditary social classes: nobles, artisans and slaves. They live in extended patrilineal families if they are sedentary, and inheritance goes from father to his brother, as is the case with the Mande groups. They practice circumcision and excision, follow the dictates of Islam, and subsist on a diet very much like that of the Soninke and Bambara. If they practice agriculture, it is as an adjunct to the primary subsistence activity: herding.

The nomadic Fulani practice transhumance. That is, they move their cattle seasonally, leaving their villages after the harvest season and driving their herds in search of pasturage. They establish temporary villages along the grazing routes, these being residential centers for the old, the very young and the women. The tribes inhabit these settlements for months at a time, and then migrate to the next camp until the advent of the rainy season, when they return to their "home" villages. This annual homecoming occasions festival celebration and feasting.

The Fulani and Toucouleur are renowned for their dignity and decorum. They are said always to be polite, hospitable and generous. And they are extraordinarily proud of their ethnic heritage.

ISLAM

Islam is a major world religion having somewhere in the vicinity of six hundred million adherents distributed across the face of the globe. It was promulgated by the Prophet Mohammed in the 7th century A.D., and is based on the doctrine that man's purpose is service and obedience to God. The word Islam actually means "surrender" in Arabic. A Moslem is one who surrenders to the Will of Allah, the one and only true God.

Mohammed is considered the last and greatest of a series of Prophets, which includes Adam, Noah, Moses, Jesus, and other religious figures. These Prophets are believed to have been human rather than divine, the recipients of God's revelations and not His incarnations. The Islamic God reveals Himself to the Prophets indirectly through visions or voices, or through Messenger Angels. The Angel Gabriel, it is believed, brought the Koran to Mohammed's heart.

The Koran, or holy book of Islam, is regarded as the Word of God. It is divided into a series of lessons, which contain not only ethical and spiritual teachings, but also politico-moral and sociological doctrines as well. The Koran is founded on the premise that recognizing the unity and supremacy of God has profound social consequences for man. In particular, it requires human being to struggle against impurity and immorality, to free themselves from meanness of spirit and narrowness of mind. Human beings should serve each other as well as God. That is, they should strive to eliminate economic suffering and social injustice. Thus the Koran incorporates a doctrine of social service and generosity, requiring Moslems to avoid usury, to give alms, and to tithe a portion of their incomes for the less fortunate. The Koran promises that God will repay economic sacrifice more than secular investments, and, conversely, warns that selfishness and lack of charity will be severely punished.

The idea of economic justice is expanded into the advocacy of a community of the faithful, which is fundamentally egalitarian and just. In such a society the weak--women, the poor, orphans and slaves--would be protected and their emancipation encouraged. Because the mission of a Moslem community is to promote obedience to God and to prevent evil, that group is enjoined to proselytize their beliefs through the jihad, or holy struggle. The concept also translates into the idea of holy war, whose aim is to bring non-Moslem societies under the political control of Islamic brotherhoods, so that their internal affairs can be run according to the dictates of Islam. In other words, the holy war was not designed to effect individual conversions, but to establish the conditions in which justice could flourish whether or not subjugated peoples accepted the ways of the Prophet. Islam specifically forbids forced conversions, as a matter of fact, although it encourages voluntary ones. Voluntary conversions were frequently brought about during the major periods of Islamic expansion when laws designed to



Contemporary Distribution of Islam South of the Sahara

discriminate against non-Moslems were articulated. Jews and Christians, who were followers of recognized prophets, were allowed to live in Moslem communities, and were given religious autonomy.

Pagans were given the compelling choice: "convert or die straightaway." The "People of the Book," a term by which followers of Mohammed designated Christians and Jews, were heavily taxed even if their religions were tolerated, and these taxes were powerful inducements to accept the Ways of the Prophet.

The basic beliefs of Islam rest on the five pillars of faith. The first of these is the Moslem profession: "There is no God but Allah, and Mohammed is his Prophet." The second is the requirement of five daily prayers; the third the giving of alms and sacrifice; the fourth, fasting during Ramadan. The last is the requirement that all who can afford it should make a pilgrimage to Mecca. Moslems also believe in the Last Day, or the Day of Judgment, in a physical Heaven and Hell where the rewards or punishments for one's worldly activities are received, in Angels, demons and the archdemon Satan.

The Koran states that Allah created all the Universe, which is ordered and purposeful. All things in nature have a definite and definable purpose, according to which it behaves or functions or exists. The nature of things creates pattern and sets limits. All things are limited, in other words, except God, who is independent, self-sufficient and supreme.

Islam

God created two kinds of creatures with reason and responsibility. One is the Jinn (demon); the other is Man. The Jinns are prone to mischief and evil; while man has the capacity to do enormous good. Man's nature, being limited, is not perfect. He is prideful and disobedient, attributing to himself autonomy and self-sufficiency, which is, of course, his greatest sin. Satan consistently encourages Man in his pride and disobedience, and is thus the enemy of God. Satan, like the Satan of so many Christian sects, is considered a fallen Angel, one who lost his high station by refusing to obey God and venerate Adam. The Prince of Darkness' temptations will endure as long as men live on this earth. On the Day of Judgment his evil works will cease forever.

Islam in West Africa

Islam entered West Africa from the Sahara, carried by Moslem Berbers and other partially Arabized populations. Berber merchants and scholars were important members of the ancient Soninke kingdom at Ghana before the 11th century; but it was the 11th century Moravid jihad, directed against the Soninke kings, that finally consolidated its dominion in this part of the world.

Discussing the spread of Islam in Africa, Lewis states:*

It is not always easy to distinguish between the Islamizing role of Muslim traders, on the one hand, and of teachers and holy men, on the other, since these two activities are often associated in Muslim communities and regularly combined in the same person. Nevertheless, it is useful to begin consideration of the means by which Islam has penetrated into and spread in tropical Africa by examining the direction and character of long-distance trade, which, in some areas certainly, only made its appearance with the faith. Here, at the outset, it is important to appreciate that, despite the Islamic prescriptions on usury (which in any case are not difficult to circumvent), the Muslim ethic as a whole is markedly favourable to trade, commerce, and industry. These indeed are all regarded as eminently respectable activities, and their practice in Africa has been favoured by the supra-tribal ethos of Islam, its common procedures and values, and the use of Arabic as a means of commercial communication and account-keeping.

The Moslem ethos Lewis refers to dovetails almost completely with Soninke cultural values, where both commerce and scholarship are considered noble enterprises, and where travel is a practical requirement of a male's existence. Given that the Soninke travel extensively in

*M. Lewis, Islam in Africa. London: Oxford, 1966.

their economic pursuits and given that Islam fosters the notion of a community of the faithful where fellow Moslems are accorded hospitality and courtesy, it was quite natural that the Soninke would adopt this faith. In adopting it, they spread it.

Where the merchant ventured, the holy men followed, consolidating the inroads of Islam. Because they were literate and because they claimed for themselves mystical powers, they attracted the attention of illiterate populations. They founded schools and gave moral guidance, but their advice was often as much economic and social as spiritual and moral, since, in Islam, there is no clear separation of the social and the spiritual. Moreover, because they were neutral politically, marabouts were often recruited as bodyguards and advisors to the kings and head men in the populations they missionized. This led to still other situations in which they acted as mediators and middlemen in affairs of state.

The Soninke and Toucouleur marabouts who spread Islam to Guinea and Senegal left upon it traces of Sudanic (that is, black African as opposed to Arabic or Berber) culture. The Soninke elements include family festivals, (for example, baptisms) and the idea of sacrifices in place of burnt offerings and the offering of victims. The Soninke baptism ceremony, which requires that the to-be-baptized child's head be shaved simultaneously with the slaughtering of an animal and the pronouncement of the child's Moslem names, differs enough from North African baptisms to earn the comment that many of its elements are indigenous, and not imported from "standard Islam." J. S. Trimingham, chronicler of Islam in Africa, is convinced that the Soninke and Toucouleur are responsible for "a distinctive type of Islamic consciousness and forms of observance," and that these diacritic forms are traceable to African origins. What this means is that the Soninke were not passive receivers of the Way of the Prophet; in adopting the religion they changed it to accord with their world view and culture.



PART II

ADVANCED WORK
ON THE
SONINKE LANGUAGE



Greetings and Benedictions

The Importance of Ritual Greetings.

All over Africa greetings form an extremely important part of any social interaction. The Soninke people, like others in this part of the world, give a lot of attention to these courtesies, especially when they encounter friends or relatives whom they have not seen for a while.

You may be surprised at the length and pacing of these greetings when you first hear native speakers of Soninke performing them together. If a group of three or more of them get together, they may all talk at once, but there will be a definite flow and rhythm to each individual's speech. What is going on here is that one or two people are giving greetings, and the others are giving responses at the same time. Typically a person assumes the role of greeter for a while and then switches to the role of respondent, or a person starts as a respondent and continues responding until the other runs through a complete greeting cycle. When the original greeter shows signs of leaving off, the original responders take over the greeter role.

Pacing is important. Practice greetings and benedictions with others until you can do them smoothly and automatically. The object is to make your responses interlock with other people's responses, without hesitating or breaking the tempo.

The salutations and benedictions in this section are for special occasions: births, deaths, misfortunes and illnesses. They are intended to supplement the material presented in the Communication and Culture Handbook.

Greetings and Benedictions

Greetings for Muslim Holidays

1. This time next year. (said to one person)
2. This time next year. (said to more than one person)
3. Next year and many others. (said in response to 1 or 2)
4. May we all live to see next year's fete.
5. If we see next year's fete, may it not be the last.
(said in response to 4)
6. May our evenings together be long.
7. May God not give us eternal solitude.
8. May you remain in our sight a long time.
9. May your cane of old age be strong.

NOTE:

The appropriate response to any benediction is 'amiina,' which means 'amen.' You will notice that some people touch their chests with their right hands, and others their foreheads in saying amiina.

Holiday Greetings to Children

10. Though you are a child now, may you grow old and multiply.
11. May God not multiply your misfortunes and may you live to see your own children happy.

To An Only Child

12. Though you are alone now, may there be hundreds of you later.

Condolences

13. I have come to give my condolences. (said to a single person)
14. I have come to give my condolences. (said to more than one)
15. May God have mercy on him/her.

Ke N Bire Wagande

1. Ke n bire waaga.
2. Xa ke n bire waaga.
3. Waaga do siine gabe.
4. Hari na waaga xalle n koyi o ya.
5. A gana a koyi o y'a ga nt'o fini n xenpindi a yi.
6. N'o sunkeye n dallandi.
7. Alla nt'o xiidikara me yi.
8. Hari n'an dalland'o yaaxe n na.
9. Hari ma xirisin-dokko n bamba.

10. Lemine ya ni an na, hari n'an xirisin-naaxu, ha an jildi.
11. Alla nt'an jildi bono da, hari na funsu n xeeru koyi.

12. Baane ya ni an na, hari na an kara kamme.

Kalle N Duwanne

13. N li duw'an da n na.
14. N li duwa xa da n na.
15. Hari na yamp'a maxa.

Greetings and Benedictions

16. May we be strong after him/her.
17. May his/her eternal rest be peaceful.
18. May his/her host be the Prophet.
19. May his/her fate be paradise.
20. May you distribute many 'galettes' after him/her.
21. May God show you nothing to make you forget him/her.
22. When God gathers the faithful, may he/she not be ashamed.

Responses to Condolences

23. May you be graced with good fortune.
24. May I be in your debt a long time. (May I not have to condole you.)
25. May it be a long time before you receive your own recompense.

Felicitations at the Birth of a Child

26. May we and he/she have long lives.
27. May his/her next sibling be a male.
28. May his/her world be agreeable.
29. May the infant be fortunate.
30. May his/her food not be difficult to obtain.
31. May he/she never chase away his/her father and mother.
32. May he/she be a Moslem.
33. May he/she not be foolish.
34. May he/she protect a lot of younger brothers.
35. May he be the friend of women. (said about a male infant)
36. May she be the friend of men. (said about a female infant)

Greetings and Benedictions

16. Hari n'o xotond'a falle.
17. Na badan-saqqu n nowondi.
18. N'a jatigi nya Annebi ya.
19. N'a taqque alijanna.
20. Ha ganna dalla tufullu n wutt'a da.
21. Alla nta fo koyi a g'o mungundini d'a yi.
22. Komo n ga na me nyi, Alla nt'o d'a yaagundi.

23. Hari n'an baraaaji xeeri.
24. Hari na tambo n dallandi.

25. 'A baraaaje n ganna dall'an dukku.

Saareye

26. Hari n'o do a birandi.
27. N'a yaaxido n nya yugo.
28. Hari n'a jamaane n liño.
29. N'a nya berekinta-remme.
30. Alla nt'a yige yille n xotondi.
31. A ga nta saaxe do baabe xata.
32. N'a nya misiilime.
33. Alla nt'a ny xawuye.
34. A ganna faasandi xoxono gabu da.
35. N'a ny yaxaru n xana.
36. N'a nya yugu n xana.

Greetings and Benedictions

Blessings for the Sick

- 37. May you find health.
- 38. May those who hear of your illness not be many.
- 39. May tomorrow be better than today.
- 40. May you recover.
- 41. May your sickness be a pardon for your sins.

Formulas for Accidents and Misfortunes

- 42. May you recover your health.
- 43. May it be long before you see a similar misfortune.
- 44. May this bring long life and health.
- 45. May this be a pardon for your sins.
- 46. May God spare us similar misfortunes.
- 47. May fortune arrive in this year.
- 48. May we be saved and protected.

Marriage

- 49. May this bring happiness.
- 50. May it bring long life and health.
- 51. May God give you no regrets.
- 52. May you have offspring: those that will surpass you yourselves.
- 53. May your evening-campfires be enduring (that is, may you and your family remain together a long time).

Waate

37. Hari na saha nya.
38. Alla nta a mukkaano n gabondi.
39. Na xumbane faso lenki.
40. Hari n'an saaga an du maxa.
41. N'a nya junuubu xafaraade.

42. Hari na saha nyana an da n na.
43. Hari n'o famand'a me yi.
44. Hari n'a nya wuyu do saha.
45. Hari na nya junubu xaferi ye.
46. Hari n'o kis'a me mosilbo yi.
47. Hari na siine n moxosire n ny'o da.
48. Hari na kisiye do tangeye kaf'o maxa.

Yaxiye

49. Hari na ny xexi ya.
50. Hari na nya wuyu do saha yi.
51. Alla nt'a nya nimisiye yi.
52. Hari na funtifo bagandi xa yi: Fun be ga n fasu xa yimme yi.
53. Hari na xa sunkayimb n dallandi.

The Importance of Proverbs in African Societies

Much of what people say to each other in day to day discourse is new information, and the sentences they form to communicate this are original creations made up on the spot. Proverbs, on the other hand, codify traditional wisdom in stock phrases which are used over and over again. Proverbs say something old, something that was said before by past generations, something with "eternal truth."

It is the use of proverbs that is creative rather than their form. They are used to convey not just the concepts associated with their literal meaning, but also to convey concepts that can only be understood by original metaphorical extension of the literal meaning. Let us give an example of what we mean by this:

Imagine that a language learner is speaking to a Soninke elder in what is obviously an imperfectly controlled version of his language. The old man might indulge in a little humor by saying

"Ah, you have become a real Soninke now. You can talk just like us."

If the language learner takes this at face value and replies "Oh, thank you, do you really think so?," he or she will indicate a certain gullibility and vanity to everybody listening. However, if the language learner is sophisticated he or she might reply

"No matter how long a log lies in the water it never becomes a crocodile."

This is the kind of response that the old man is looking for. It shows not only a command of the language that most Europeans never achieve, but it also shows an appreciation of Soninke culture. This might please the elder enough for him to respond to yet another proverb:

"That is true, my child, but a log lying in the water is still a thing of fear."

This is a true compliment, while the original "You are a real Soninke now" could be considered a test. In societies where direct insults or compliments are rarely given, people must become sensitive to different levels of meaning.

There are two factors contributing to the expressive power of proverbs. One is that they are indirect; the second is that they are traditional. Because they are traditional, they demand respect for the point being made by the speaker. Because they are indirect, there is no point in arguing with them. Thus they play an important role in

keeping conversations peaceful and on-going. Proverbs are used to give advice, to criticize another's behavior, or to forestall making commitments--all without having to do so directly and risk confrontation with members of the audience. This is crucially important in small communities where people have to interact with each other on a daily basis.

In this section we include a number of Soninke proverbs which we invite you to discuss with your teacher and your classmates. As a class exercise, you might try to think of contexts in which these aphorisms might be appropriate; that is, you might try to think of situations in which these proverbs could be used to comment on your own or another person's behavior indirectly.

The proverbs are written in the Nioro dialect rather than that of the Guidimaxa. This will give you a chance to explore dialectal differences in the language at the same times as you are exploring the traditional wisdom of the culture. If you wish to convert these proverbs back to Guidimaxa Soninke, see the section on Soninke dialects in this Handbook.

BIBLIOGRAPHIC NOTE:

The discussion of proverbs is taken from a paper entitled 'Maninka,' by Charles Bird and Timothy Shopen. This paper may be found in Timothy Shopen's book, Languages And Their Speakers (1979; Cambridge, Massachusetts: Winthrop). The authors have given us permission to use some of the wording, and the example of the exchange between the language learner and the elder.

The proverbs are taken from Oudiary Makan Dantioko's books: (1) Soninkan Burujunu, Masalanu do Taalinu (1977; Bamako, Mali: DNAFLA), (2) Soninkan Dongomanu do Kagoronun Buruju (1977; Bamako, Mali: DNAFLA) and (3) Soninkara Maanu: Recits du Pays Soninke (1979; Bamako, Mali: DNAFLA), with permission of the author.

Proverbs

1. It is not for a guest who has been fed coucous and milk to ask his host "my host, how many milk cows do you have?"
2. Wounds heal but harsh words are never forgotten.
3. The solitary life benefits only God.
4. In a room with nine lepers, nine blind people and nine paralytics, God's name is said but his name isn't good.
5. The tortoise is black but not because he's dirty.
6. If you don't like fish, don't stay by the river banks.
7. When a stick isn't lying down, it is standing up.
8. When you see a goat eating cotton seeds, you say they aren't hard.
9. The raiser of a snake is the first bitten by it.
10. When you bother a goat, it bites you.
11. It is force which expells shit.
12. It is smarter to look to the left and right before speaking than to deny what you have just said.
13. Defecating one time doesn't make your anus old, but it makes it dirty.
14. The sun cannot kill grass that grows without the aid of rain.
15. The child that beats his chest to boast of his invincibility is sure of the force of his friends.
16. When a guest strikes his host, it is time to leave.
17. The corpse that hides from the person who is to wash it will be buried dirty.
18. Only the fearful man can raise children.
19. It takes two to fight.
20. One doesn't buy a horse by the sound of its hoofs.

Nyoro Taalinu

1. I da mukke n'i futo do xati yigaye ya, xa "n jatigi, an na nanu manin me xamunu," ke n dagant'a da.
2. Tugu batte n wo sahana, xa digaan-qa n bure a yi.
3. Baanaaxu da Aira baane ya nafa.
4. Kompe be di finkintu kabi go no, safintu kabi go no, muruxuntu kabi go no, Alla toxo n wo koni, x'a toxo sire fe.
5. Kuunya finna ya feti nan t'a mexente ni.
6. An ga nta nyexen munda, an nta taaxunu fan-laqqe n qa.
7. Guma saxunte ga feti, a wo sikki.
8. An ga na sugo n wari kotoole xote n yigana, an wo ti n'a xote feti.
9. Samaxe n n'i maradaana, follo n ya xinyi.
10. An ga n'an cugo tooro, a w'an qinyi.
11. Fanka n nya na xuro n bagandi ni.
12. A dagante ni an n'an taye n d'an nooge n paayi saad'an ga sefene dinant'an na kutandi an diga n qanne n qa.
13. Xuru ta baane nta buu xasondi ni, x'a wa mexendi ni.
14. Sokke be ga seenu kamme n palle, kiye ra nta ke n kalli.
15. Lemine ga na bexe sare ya beede n di, a hasadaana n wo d'a falle ya.
16. Mukke n ga n'i jatigi yugo katu, a daga waxati.
17. Fure ga na mux'i yanqindaana n, w'a mexete n wo da laxara.
18. Yugu-xaaxate n ya n'i remmu xoorodini.
19. Saru filili ya gajana.
20. Sare nta si xobono d'a ta manqane n qa.

Proverbs

21. It is good to milk a cow, but it is better to leave the calf its share.
22. No matter how empty the pepper bag, some remains which makes men sneeze.
23. If you can't go to the toilet at your in-law's home, you don't have diarrhea.
24. Society does not respect the person who does not respect himself.
25. He who wants a camel won't see a little goat.
26. If you see a lizard lying beside a hole, it's a dead one.
27. One lion cub is better than a basketful of kittens.
28. The lizard of one area is the crocodile of another place.
29. A little wall separating you and your neighbor is better than a fight separating you.
30. Unexpected events spoil expected ones.
31. If you squirt your urine a long way the last drops will fall on your feet.
32. The grinding stone belongs to the mill owner.
33. If the year isn't good, the months don't count.
34. A little needle sews a grand boubou.
35. A friend who says that he is worth more than a mother and a father is someone to fear.
36. One ought not to accept the head of a sheep with the tongue missing.
37. A tree trunk can lie in the water a long time but it won't become a crocodile.
38. Taking a lion by the ears is not as hard as letting go of it.
39. A single hand can't applaud.
40. The baobab is the biggest tree in the bush but it can't resist a drop of rain.

21. Na n qamme n cire ni, na-lemme taqqe toxo n, ke n qa pasu.
22. Horonton-booto n ga na duraxu moxo moxo ho wo kita n, a di na yugu xoore n tirigonsondi.
23. An nta jooxe n d'axi kallu-ka n di, xuriji n m'an laga hari ga.
24. Sare be ga t'i du darono, jaama n nta darono.
25. Nyogome mundaana nta sugu-lemme walli.
26. An ga na baaxa-lemme n wari saxa kun-laqqe n na, a karante n ya ni.
27. Jarinta-len-baane n pasu kande fakka muusi-lemme ya.
28. Nuqqu xiise ni nuqqu kini ya.
29. Kobi-buccine na d'an kappa-lemma bagu me di an pasu gajaanne ga ro xa naxa.
30. Fi balawute n wo fi taaxunte bonondi ni.
31. An ga n'an buusi n cedi nuqqu laata, a kutte n wo juxun'an yimme taanu n kamma.
32. Golle ni yilli-gume n ya fo ya.
33. Siine n ga ma siro, xasu n nta jaatini.
34. Mesele-buccine wo doroki xoore lifini.
35. Manjanne n be ga t'i n pasu ma do faabe ya, kanu ke n na.
36. Sare nta xawa nan dune jaxe n yonkola n na n'a neene toxo.
37. Suwa-kitte n dalla ji n di moxo-moxo, a nta nyana kini ya.
38. Jarente n taru n lagande nta xoto x'i walla.
39. Kitte baane ra nta sooxono.
40. Kiidi tije n ya dara guune n yitte n cu ya, x'a ra nta sikki kan-punce wure.

Proverbs

41. To say "I must not remain unmarried" is reasonable; to say "I can't marry without a specific person's daughter" is stupid.
42. Only turtles know where to bite each other.
43. What betrays once will betray often.
44. It is good to know how to ride a horse, and it is good to know the water; but it is better to know yourself.
45. When you see a woman ashamed, turn your back; she will come out of it herself. If you see a man ashamed, help him or he will die of it.
46. Little walls are not all due to a shortage of bricks.
47. Everyday the ear goes on a journey.
48. The hopeful will die listening to a liar.
49. The world is a succession of many mornings.
50. The sambe is a little tree, but it can't be broken.
51. Even if it doesn't see a corpse, the eye can still cry.
52. "I saw it" is more profitable than "I heard it."
53. Salt is tiny but it is still flavorful.
54. The executioner doesn't know how white are the teeth of the person he executes.
55. No matter how clever you are you can find someone more clever.
56. If the world is hard on you, take it with nobility.
57. The man who says he wants to buy an old mare is not uncouncilable, but the man who says he wants to marry his old grandmother will understand nothing for he is crazy.
58. When you lend your eyes to your father-in-law, you will walk in the shadows.
59. You can discard your old pants but never your old father.
60. Everything the Moor child tells you, he learns in his tent.
61. Even if the rabbit is your enemy, at least have the courage to admit that he runs well.

41. "N nta toxo n ga ma yaxi" ke n tonuya yi; xa "n nta yaxini ma kaati-remme n," ke n ni tuuri n ya yi.
42. Kuunyanu n ya me xinyi ra tu.
43. Fi be da jambandi ta banne, a wo jambandini bada-bada.
44. An la wo si n na, an la wo ji n na, ke n cire ni. An yimme tu, ke n qa n pasu.
45. An ga na yaxare n wari yaagu, n d'an pa'e koy'a ya; a du bakka. Yugo n ya ga n'a deema, ke n palle a wo tox'a di.
46. Kobbi-deppe n cu wure feti tuufa kontoye ya.
47. Koota-koota taro wo da tere.
48. Tamayite wo kalla do gaarante ya.
49. Duna ni suxuba laqqi gabe ya.
50. "Sambe n" na loxo x'a nta xosone.
51. Gelli yaaxe ga ma fure wari, a ji n wa bakku.
52. "N d'a wari" nafa nan qoro "n d'a mugu."
53. Sappe n ga na loxo moxo-moxo, a xaxace ni.
54. Sari kallanna n paaju nta kamba-xulle-gume maxa, a n'i kaafa baane ya tu.
55. An ga na gotti moxo-moxo, an wo sare walli a ga gotini'an na.
56. Duna ga n a xot'an da moxo-moxo, a raga ti hooraaxu ya.
57. Yugo be da t'i wo si-yaxarin-qase xobono, a nta gongone; x 'a da t'i w'i maama yaxini a toxo no, a nta fo su faamunu, ke n waxatina.
58. An ga n'an yaaxu loxo an kallu y'an wo terene bitte n di.
59. An la wo an wuno n qase n cedinu x'an paaba xase a yi.
60. Sira-lemme n ga na ho su koni, a d'a muugu goore n ya wure.
61. Kanjaane n ga na ny'an qonne n wa moxo moxo ti "Alla boni ke battara n po wo wurunu."

Proverbs

62. The marabout who has said that the world would end tomorrow, he himself and his holy books would end with it.
63. If you don't want your enemies to know something, don't tell it to your friends.
64. Eat more of your favorite dish than speak your favorite talk.
65. When the cow dances on a lion's skin, she knows that under her feet is something more powerful than either herself or the skin.
66. Power doesn't stop in front of just one door.
67. A knife that is not sharp is not a concern for the sheep.
68. Even if you could put the world in a peanut shell, there would still be people who could find room to hang their mosquito nets.
69. When your friend swears to have seen a pregnant bull, tell him that this bull will give birth to a heifer.
70. The blind man dances with his money in his hand.
71. A long tooth is worth more than a long tongue.
72. No matter how good a horseman you are, you can't sit on the horse's nose.
73. He who repudiates his first wife because she urinates, risks taking a second who will defecate on his mat.
74. The blind man would rather have his wife prepare a delightful sauce than a beautiful hairstyle.
75. The soul doesn't bend like the knee does.
76. If we must make a vow we are strangers, otherwise we know each other.
77. When the thunder rolls, everyone will cover his head.
78. A person builds a well today because he will be thirsty tomorrow.
79. He who kills his wicked dog will be bitten by the dog of another.
80. Not all the bad rains come from the east.
81. When a child sees his mother old, he thinks his father wasted the brideprice.

62. Moodi be ga ti duna wo gilli xumban'a yimme d'i kitabu n w'a noxo n di.
63. An ga nta munda na hibe koni an qonne n da max'a k'an menjanne n da.
64. Yokke be g'a liq'an da ke n yiga dinanta digaame be ga liq'an da maxa ke n koni.
65. Na n ga na sanga jarinten-patte kamm'a d'a tu ho wo non'a gan qoor'i su ya.
66. Hanka n nta sikki bori laqqe banne yi.
67. Ke labo liqe heti, ke n nta xawa jaxe raqqe n di.
68. I ga na duna ro tiga-korome n di no nu wo i sanke n bahin'a di.
69. An kappa-lemme ga na ti, i da gumbo nuxunte wari, a jaabi nanti gumbo ke wo yeere saarana.
70. Hinkinte n lagene t'i tugade n ya yi i kitte n di.
71. Kamba gille n pasu neene gille ya.
72. An gada si n tu moxo moxo maxa taaxu a nuxunne n kamma.
73. An ga n'an yaqqi hana n wara t'a wo buusini, an wo rini ho kita hibe go xullu an texe n di.
74. Hinkinte n w'a mund'i yaqqe na moxo n ji liqe soro, i da dinanta a na tullu-sire n ya.
75. Yonki n la nta guusini xo xurungo.
76. O n kuna, i na do mukku n ya yi, ke n palle taaxa lemmu n wo me tu.
77. Kamme n ga na dire, be su w'i yonkola n lagana.
78. Sare wo gede soxono lenki n'a wara xumbane daaxu n kaane.
79. Hibe d'i wulle n kari t'a bure n ni wandi wulle n w'an xinyi.
80. Kamme n bure n cu nta gilli kimbakka n di.
81. Lemine n ga na saaxa xase n wari, a ti n'i haaba d'i tamma bonondi ya.

Proverbs

82. When your father offers you a boubou, make your own pocket in it.
83. A big ass is always posed on someone else's saddle.
84. One can always brag that he is his mother's best child, but if he claims to be the best in the village, people will know it's a lie.
85. All in nature gives birth to its child, but speech hatches its mother.
86. An impatient woman will not see her husband rich.
87. If you say "I'm happy today" this could be true; if you say "I will die happy," your death will certainly be premature.
88. An old woman is more dangerous than a brush fire.
89. The child who is accustomed to eating the funeral repasts of the dead does not fear death.
90. Before you speak the truth to your mother-in-law, make sure your wife has moved in with you.
91. "This sauce lacks salt" should not come from the mouth of a stranger.
92. When a grown man fills his mouth with coucous, he should have the saliva to wet it.
93. If water could clean you white, the toad would become an Arab.
94. The vain always cultivate their fields on the side of the grand routes.
95. A person can be mistaken about his share of food, but not about words coming out of his mouth.
96. When told to find someone to fight against, the wind always chooses an old gourd.
97. You can shave my head, but you can't remove what's in it.
98. There where you put your right hand, don't put your left hand.
99. It is the choice between two things that allows you to say "I don't want this. I want that."

82. An paaba d'a doroke kin'an na, an yimme n'a jiiba r'a ya.
83. An tinkamba n dare ni, a na wandi xiriqqe n ya kamma.
84. An la wo tini an me nta an ma remmu n di xa an me nta debe n di ke n ni gaare n ya yi.
85. Ho su w'i remme n caarana, xa digaame n w'i ma saarana.
86. Yaxare n xorintinte nt'ai kiina banna n walle.
87. N wo n liqu n di lenki tonu n'wo kalla n liqu n di, kara hane n ya ni ke n cahare n di.
88. Yaxare n xase nan bononta gunne n yimbe n di.
89. Lemine be ga dommi huru n puto yigaye n na ke n nta kanna kalle n di.
90. Ma tonu n koni an kallu yaxare n da, sigi an n'an yaqqe kit'an kaara.
91. Sappe nta ke moxo-ji ke n nta xawa nan bugu mukke raqqe n di.
92. Yugu xoore n ga n'i raqqe n paga hutu kante n na, a laxa-ji n la wo a sahindini.
93. Ji n ga nyl sare xurandini hantane n nyl arabi n caarana.
94. Du koyana n n'i te n nalla killi laqqe n ya yi.
95. Sare ra w'i samma taqqi yigande n na, xan nta samma an taqqe digaame n na.
96. I ga na ti be su n'i gaja lemme n mundu hanke n wo da tiine gubo n qase n di.
97. An la wo n yonkola n ciini x'an la nt'a muxiri ho bakk'a di.
98. Taye n ga ra wo rono yokke be di m'ax'an nooge n lo ke n di.
99. An nta ke ya ma ke, yaaxe na hillo ya ni.

Proverbs

100. No matter what frightens you, you can't run away and leave your buttocks behind you.
101. A full stomach doesn't care about a bountiful harvest.
102. When your mother prepares food and your grandmother serves it, it can't be refused to you.
103. If your mother prepares your food, eat it. If she prepares your schemes for you, refuse them.
104. "Forgive me" is better than "get off my nose."
105. The monkey may vacillate, but the rock remains in place.
106. You can't put your hand in the pocket of a robe you are not wearing.
107. The child can jump over his own excrement, but he shouldn't try to jump over his father's word.
108. The person enamored of luxury dies following a liar.
109. Once the arrow is launched it can't be brought back.
110. Smoke is the best emissary in the direction of the sky.
111. Your manner of dancing makes you a slave.
112. "You persisted in it" and "you are swallowed by it" are the same thing.
113. If you pass the night working for someone who asks you the next morning why your eyes are red, it isn't worth it.
114. When a bird passes drinking water, its way of flying will be a problem for it.

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100. An ga na kanu moxo-moxo an la nta wurunu n'an tinkambu n toxo.
101. Noxo hakka haju n nta yille n ciroye n di.
102. An ma gada yigande be soro an maama gad'a taxandi ke n nta yigine an palle.
103. An ma da sorondi, an d'a yig'a ga n'an lo jamba n di bara.
104. Yaha n maxa pasu giri bakka nuxunne n kamma.
105. Daga nan caage na saanumpune n ya da ke n palle gide n w'i batte n di.
106. Max'an kitte lo jiiba d'a doroke n ga nta an qanne n na.
107. Lemine n la wo santini bakka i xuro n kamma x'an maxa santi bakk'i haaba digaame n kamma.
108. Tamayinte wo kalla do gaarante ya.
109. Bunne n ga na sedi an nta xa saagene d'i halle ya.
110. Haare sire nta dangini tiide n di katti kammu n na.
111. An lege moxo n ya n'an nyana kome ya.
112. N dall'a d'a do n toxo a d'i suwo doome.
113. An ga na wuyi an yaaxu n wa sare da yille ga kare a ga ti man'an yaaxu n dumbunde an golle n nya hu n na.
114. Yeliqe n ga na dang'i mini ji n di, a kampi n moxo n na nuxuru samunu.

Soninke Riddles/Devinettes

Soninke children, like children throughout Africa, love riddles. They have an enormous stock of them, which they learn from their grandmothers or from other children. Soninke grandmothers begin to play riddle games with their grandchildren as soon as the little ones are able to think abstractly. In fact these riddle games seem to be a frame for the development of abstract and creative thinking. They teach children that there is a level of meaning--a level of truth--beyond what is apparent to the senses. Another way of saying this is to say that riddles are used to teach children that things are not necessarily what they seem. This seems to be a basic philosophical tenet in African systems of thought.

In this section we have included a number of Soninke riddles, called by their French name, "devinettes." We warn you that you probably will not understand all of them, for understanding them presupposes understanding fundamental values of Soninke culture and, more importantly, knowing some crucial Soninke metaphors. Consider this advanced work on the language. When you get to the point that you can carry on conversations with people, ask someone to explain the more mysterious devinettes to you. Better yet, find a child and engage him or her in a riddle game, using these devinettes as your point of departure. You will learn a great deal more about the language and culture in this way than you would ever have believed possible.

Soninke devinettes follow a culturally prescribed form:

The riddle-poser addresses a group with:	Xa na ti n da heeyi! (Say 'heyi' to me!)
The respondents reply:	Heeyi!
Then comes the riddle, for example:	N sege sambe, n nta same tu. (I am stopped under a sambe tree and I don't know the sambe tree.)
Everyone guesses until someone comes up with the correct answer:	An w'an kara-koota n d'an bire koota tu ba? (Do you think you know the day of your death and the length of your life?)

This particular devinette really captures the spirit of the game. Its meaning is that you cannot know everything, no matter how clear things seem to you. Life is full of indeterminacies and uncertainties. Knowledge is imperfect. You experience life and yet you do not know its boundaries.

Try your hand at interpreting these others.

Xa na ti n da heeyi!

Heeyi!

1

R. N wa maanyo n tullu, a wa talla n xullu.
I braid the hair of a bride and she defecates at the same instant.

A. Seyi n gede.
This is a well dug in sand.

2

R. Tinke n wa, n n'a kon'an da.
Come close to me, I will tell it to you.

A. Xillaade.
This is the act of weaving. To understand this one, you must know how African looms function.

3

R. N ma wa sikki, yimme n wa doxono.
My mother is stopped and her head complains.

A. Damberin-guja.
This is a ronier-palm sprout.

4

R. N daga n kallu kaara; i da maarun-jambu kini n na, n kor'i kambunu.
I went to my in-laws; they gave me grains of rice which I couldn't chew.

A. Kocci-funcu.
This is gravel, small stones which appear in cooked rice.

5

R. Ku nooran-lemmu n filli ya ni; n la nta baane wuttu na baane toxo.
There are two little bowls made of wood; I can't take one and leave the other.

A. An ma d'an faaba.
This is your mother and your father.

Devinettes

6

R. N gumbo xaasa, n yeere n da noxo n wutu.
My bull bellowed and my heifer became pregnant.

A. Jini warinte.
This is boiling water with foam on it.

7

R. N si n wa kompe, xoque n wa sella.
My horse is inside and his tail is outside.

A. Tiide
This is smoke.

8

R. N da n guilla sedi siran-gedu a daga bagu ti fullan-gedu.
I throw my pebble into a Moor's well and it comes out of the well a Fula.

A. Logoma
A "tartine"--a snack

9

R. N daga Jaaje ka, Jaaje wullu n da n raga.
I go to Dyadye's house and his dogs get me.

A. Fa n saase.
This is the thorn of the jujube tree.

10

R. N wuno n bi na wunon-kacce n toxo.
My trousers burn but the belt remains intact.

A. Kille.
This is a road.

11

R. N daga debe, n kuunyindi; Furu n da n nyimi, Biranto n ma nyini.
I go into the village and give greetings. The Dead greet me, but not the Living.

A. Yitti-daru kayanto n do yitti-daru xawu.
These are dried leaves and fresh leaves.

12

- R. N da si n wurundi, N da n falle faayi, n ma n ta-batte n wari.
I run my horse. I look back but I don't see my tracks behind it.
- A. Jin-fuure.
A canoe in a river.

13

- R. N da n daago n boyl, leminan-yaaxidin-xota da n saam'a yi.
I spread out my mat but a naughty child sits down before me.
- A. Siyanne.
It is a fly.

14

- R. Max'an faayi, n wa rini.
Don't look for me, I'm coming.
- A. Fo-laqqe.
This is an entry way.

15

- R. Maama wa kompe, sinqe n wa sella.
Grandmother is in her room; her beard is outside.
- A. Kiye n buudi.
This is daybreak.

FOLK TALES

THE GLUTTON*

There was a certain man, very much a glutton. He left the village to go into the bush. He and his wife. A man heard news of him. He said he would go to his place to eat. The man arrived at his place. He greeted him. The (gluttonous) man responded, saying, "Where are you bound?" He said, "I'm headed for another village, but night's coming. I'm going to spend the night here." He (the glutton) said, "No, go on, the village isn't far." He said, "No, I'm spending the night here." He (the glutton) said, "I have no food, no water."

(The other), he said, "Yes, I'll lie down then." The glutton said, "Oh, all right." The woman was making couscous. She said to her husband, "The couscous is ready." He said, "Leave it over there. I have one thousand seven-hundred and seventy-seven late prayers before I even begin my grand prayer."

The stranger got out his coverlet. He said, "I'm going to bed down here until the end of the world." The glutton said to his wife, "Bring the food. This man isn't going to leave." The wife came with the couscous, and they ate it.

* A Guidimaxa story.

BURUJUNU

NYUUMUNTE

Yugo yogo ya ni, a wa nyuumunu buru. A giri kani nan daga taaxu gunne n na. A d'i yaqqe. Yugu baane d'a xibaare n mugu. A t'i ke wa telle a noqqu n na nan yige. A ga kinye yugo n noqqu n na. A d'a kunyi. Yugo n d'a jaabi, a ti, "An wa telle minne?" A ti, "N wa telle kitere n debe yi, xa wuro n ro. N wa wuyini yere." A ti, "Ayi, dangi, debe n laate fe." A ti, "Ayi, N wa wuyini yere." A ti "Yigande nta n maxa. Ji nta n maxa."

A ti, "Iyo, N wa saqqa kundun na." A ti, "aywa." Yaqqe n da futo n soro. A ti kline n da, "Futo n moyi." A ti, "A taaxundi no. N wa wujune do kamo-nyeri do tannyere do falla n sallu nyeri sallini saado n ga xenne n sallu xore n na.

Mukke n d'i xuppu yiraame n bogu me yi. A ti, "N nan saxu yere yi saado duna ga gilli." Nyuumunte ti yaqqe n da, "Li ti yigande n na. Ke mukke nta dangini." Yaqqe n do futo n li, l d'a yiga.



THE CHILD AND THE HARE

There was a man who cultivated a bean field. When his work was done, the bean field became very promising. He left his son to guard it. Each day, Hare came and said, "Child, your father orders you to tie me in the field." And the child tied him up. In the evening Hare said, "Child, come release me."

One day the child's father came, saying, "Child, what has spoiled the field?" The child replied, "It's Hare, who comes every day and says, 'Child, your father told me that you should tie me in the field.'" The father said, "Tomorrow you come and tie him up. In the evening you come back to the village with him."

The second day Hare arrived. The child tied him up. In the evening Hare said to him, "Child, come untie me." The child said, "I'm supposed to bring you back with me to the village today." When they were nearing the village, Hare said, "Kuff, kuff." The child said, "What is it?" Hare responded, "I'm going to gore you if you don't let me go. Kuff, kuff, I'm going to bite you." The child let him free.

When he reached the house, the father asked him, "What about Hare?" The child said, "I let him go because the hare told me 'Kuff, kuff, I'm going to gore you. Kuff, kuff, I'm going to bite you.'" The child's father said, "Tomorrow don't let him loose. If he says to you that he's going to gore you, you say, 'Hey, Papa told me that you don't have horns.' If he tells you he's going to bite you, say, 'Hey, Papa told me that you don't have teeth.'"

Hare came, saying "Child, your father orders you to tie me up in the field." The evening came and Hare said, "Child, come let me loose." The child said, "No, you and I are going back to the village." When they were nearing the village, Hare said, "Kuff, kuff, I'm going to gore you." The child said, "Hey! Papa told me that you don't have horns." The Hare said, "Kuff, kuff, I'm going to bite you." The child said, "Hey, Papa said you don't have teeth." The child gave him to his father. They tied him under the grainery.

Hare was crying. A Hyena arrived and said, "Why are you crying?" Hare replied, "They are cooking food for me and I tell you I don't want it." Hyena freed Hare and took his place. They came and poured hot acid on him twice. The Hyena broke the ropes and ran off, saying, "Hare outsmarted me." He said over and over, "Hey, here I've lost skin and here I lost skin, too," and he continued to cry until he died.

LEMINE N DO KANJAANE

Ke yugo ya ni a di mollon-te soxo. M'a ga dugutana, mollon-te ke suro. A remme n ya ni tangana. Koota su Kanjaane na daga, a na ti, "Lemine, an faaba t'an n'in sitti te ke noxo," lemine n xa n'a sitti. Lelle, kanjaane na ti, "Lemine, ri n wasa."

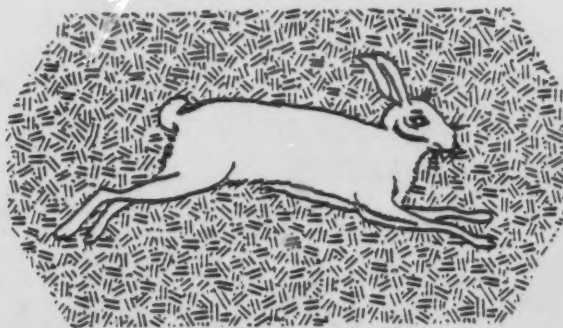
Koota baane lemine n baaba ri, a ti, "N lemme, manne n di te n bonondi?" Lemine n ti, "Kanjaane ya ni koota wo koota, a na ti 'Lemine, an faaba ti an na n sitti te n na.'" Faabe n ti, "Xumbane, an da ri, an n'a sitti. Lelle, an d'a na ri kani n na."

Bitti-fillande n koota, Kanjaane ri. Lemine n d'a sitti. Lelle, Kanjaane ti, "Lemine, ri n wasa." Lemine n ti, "N d'an telle kani n ya lenki." M'i ga tinko debe n na, Kanjaane ti, "Kuff, kuff, n fa g'an takkini an ga m'in wara. Kuff, kuff, n fa g'an xinnyi." Lemine n da wara.

A ga ri ka n na, lemine n faaba ti, "Kanjaane xa?" Lemine n ti, "N d'a wara, bawoni Kanjaane ti, 'Kuff, kuff, n fa g'an takkini. Kuff, kuff, n fa g'an xinnyi.'" Lemine n faaba ti, "Xumbane max'a wara. An da ti n fay'an takkini, an na ti, 'Eh! Baaba ti bennu nt'an na.' An da ti n fay'an xinnyi, an na ti, 'Eh, Baaba ti kambo nt'an va.'"

Kanjaane ri, a ti, "Lemine, an faaba t'an in sitti te n noxo." Lelle Kanjaane ti, "Lemine, ri n wasa!" Lemine n ti, "Ayi, n d'an telle kani n ya." I ga tinko debe n na, Kanjaane ti, "Kuff, kuff, n fa g'an takkini." Lemine ti, "Eh! Baaba ti, bennu nt'an na." Kanjaane ti, "Kuff, kuff, n fa g'an xinnyi." Lemine ti, "Eh! Baaba ti, kambo nt'an na." Lemine n d'a kini faabe n na. I d'a sitti mara n wure.

Kanjaane wa wuru. Turunne ri, a ti, "An ni manne wunu?" Kanjaane ti, "I da yigande n ya soro, n ti n nta mulla." Turunna da Kanjaane wasa, a da du sitti. I da xama-ji taye n jox'a kamma tani-filli. Turunne da kacce n kutu, a wuru, a ti, "Kanjaane da n goto." A d'a wa me yi. "E! yere delexite ya. E! yere delexite ya," m'a ga kalla!



HOW THE BULL BECAME HEAD OF THE ANIMALS*

There was a river on the banks of which lived some lions. Whoever came to drink in this river, these lions killed. One day a bull announced publicly, "Sharpen my horns. I will go to the river today." The bull went and he made the sound "guduqqu."¹ A male lion rushed out. The bull pierced his stomach with his horn. He hung its liver on his horn. He made another "guduqqu," and female lion ran out. The bull opened her stomach and hung her liver on his horn. The bull drank and drank and drank.

He went back to the village. On his way he met a rabbit who said to him:

"Oh, Single Bull, jibiriiru, samba n jarawali,² where are you coming from (where did you drink?), samba n jarawali?"

The bull replied:

"I came from drinking at Loumoumbedji, samba n jarawali."

The rabbit said:

"How are the savage beasts of Loumoumbedji, samba n jarawali?"

The bull replied:

"Here is the liver of the male on this horn, samba n jarawali. Here is the liver of the female on the other horn, samba n jarawali."

The rabbit bid him:

"Welcome, welcome, and thanks."

On his way he met a hyena. The hyena said:

"Oh, Single Bull, samba n jarawali, where are you coming from drinking, samba n jarawali?"

*A Souwena story.

¹"guduqqu" is the sound of the bull drinking.

²"Samba n jarawali" is a praise line for heroic action. When a person (or, in this case, a semi-human) accomplishes some spectacular feat, others around him sing his praises with these words. Praise lines are stock phrases like "Eye-gouger," "Mouth Ripper," and so forth.

GUMBO NYA XIRISE YA KAN MOXO

Ke fanne ya ni jarinto n ya n'a kara. Sore su n da daga mini jarinto n'a kari. Ma koota baane na ti saro n da xa d'i bennu n setta n ke wa telle fanne n na lenki. Na daga a ti, "guduqqu." Jarinte-yugo baane ri. Na d' i benne n ro jarinte gomme n na. A da butte logg' i benne n na. A ti, "guduqqu" xadi, jarinte-yaxaren xa ri, na d' i benne n ro a xa gomme n na, a da butte logg' i benne n na. Na mini, a mini, a mini.

A daga kani n na. A ga kille n na, a do kanjaane gamu kanjaane ti na da:

"Gumbun-baana, n tra jibiriiru, samba n jarawali, an giri mini minne xa, samba n jarawali?"

Gumbo xa ti:

"N giri mini, Lumumbeeji ya, samba n jarawali."

Kanjaane ti:

"Lumumbeeji nyatanyanru n moxo, samba n jarawali."

Na ti:

"Yugo n butte n faayi ke bene, samba n jarawali, Yaxare n butte n faayi ke benne, samba n jarawali."

Kanjaane ti:

"Nawari, nawari an do golle."

A ga kille n na, a do turunne gamu; turunne ti:

"Gumbun-baana, n tra jibiriiru, samba n jarawali, an giri minne xa, samba n jarawali?"

How the Bull Became Head of the Animals

The bull replied:

"I come from drinking at Loumoubedji, samba n jarawali."

The hyena replied:

"How are those savage animals over there at Loumoubedji, samba n jarawali?"

The bull responded:

"Here is the liver of the male hung on this horn. Here is the liver of the female hung on the other horn."

The hyena exclaimed:

"Welcome, welcome and thanks! Give me a little of that."

The bull gave him the liver, but the hyena came back a second time. He met him and asked for a little more liver. The bull killed him and hung his liver on his horn.

He re-entered the village. The people who were there in front of the mosque sang:

"Oh, Single Bull. samba n jarawali, where are you coming from drinking, samba n jarawali?"

The bull replied,

"I've come from Loumoubedji, samba n jarawali."

"How are the savage beasts of Loumoubedji, samba n jarawali?"

"Here is the liver of the male hung on this horn. Here is the liver of the female on this horn."

"Welcome, welcome and thanks."

From the time the bull accomplished this task, he has been chief of the animals.

Na ti:

"N giri mini lumumbeeji ya, samba n jarawali."

Turunne ti:

"Lumumbeeji nyatanyanngu n moxo, samba n jarawali?"

Na xa ti:

"Yugo butte n faayi ke benne, samba n jarawali. Yaxare butte n faayi ke benne samba n jarawali."

Turunne ti:

"Nawari, nawari, an do golle. Fonne kini n na."

A da butte kin' a yi, turunne daga gom' a yi xadi. A yille do digaamu ku ya xadi. Gumbo n d'a kari a d'a xa butte logg' i benne n na.

A ro Debe n na. Misiidinko n ti:

"Gumbu-baana, tra jibiriiru n, samba n jarawali, an giri mini minne xa, samba n jarawali?"

Na ti:

"N giri mini Lumumbeeji ya, samba n jarawali."

"Lumumbeeji nyatanyanngu n moxo, samba n jarawali?"

"Yugo n butte n faayi ke benne samba n jarawali. Yaxare n butte n faayi ke benne, samba n jarawali."

"Nawari, nawari an do golle."

Gelli ke n ya ni gumbo nya nanim xirise a d'i golle n nya, a nya kagume.



THE MARVEL*

A man set out, saying that he was going to find a marvel. He found two oxen in the road. Seven lances pierced one of them and still he was eating. One lance pierced the other and still he didn't eat. (The traveler) he said, "A marvel is discovered!" The ox said, "I'm not a marvel. Go your way!" He found a billy-goat in the road, giving blows to a stone with his horns. He said, "A marvel is discovered!" The billy-goat said, "I'm not a marvel. Go your way!" He found three wells on the route. There was water mounting out of one and falling into another. The well in the middle was dry. He said, "A marvel is discovered!" The wells said, "We are not marvels. Go your way!"

He found a tree standing on the route. He got into its shade and was burned by the sun. When he came back into the sun, his feet became cold. He said, "A marvel is discovered." The tree said, "I'm not a marvel. Go your way!" He arrived (at a place where) a marvelous child was sleeping. He was old, with white hair and a beard. The traveller said, "Father Marvel!" The child said, "I'm not a marvel. I am a marvel's child. Go your way."

He found a boy playing ball with the Marvel. He said "Father Marvel." The Marvel said "Yes?" The traveller said, "No, you're not a Marvel." The other said, "I am indeed a Marvel." And he added, "What did you see on the route?" He said, "I found two oxen on the route, seven spears piercing one and still he ate. One spear pierced the other and he didn't eat." The Marvel said, "The ox pierced by seven spears is the symbol of a child of a large family. The one pierced by a single lance is the child of a small family."

He said, "That is the truth." He added, "I found a billy-goat on the route, attacking a stone with his horns." The Marvel said, "Here is an old wife, older than fifty years, married to a man of twenty years. They will not have children." He said, "That is the truth."

He said, "I found three wells on the route one had water in it and exchanged water with another. The one in the middle was dry." The Marvel said, "These are two gentlemen. Even though they are far apart they exchange news while the little people who separate them know nothing of them." He said "That is the truth."

KAAWAFI

Yugu baane giri, a t'i wo dagana kaawafi faayi. A da gumbu filli nyi kille n ɓa. Tammu nyeri wa baane n ɓa a wa yigene. Tan baane wa banne n ɓa, a kori yigene. A ti, "Kaawafi faayi!" Gumbo ti, "Kaawafi feti n ke. Daga kaane." A da sugun-dige nyi kille n ɓa, a wa gide n takkini. A ti, "Kaawafi faayi!" Sugun-dige ti, "Kaawafi feti n ke! Daga kaane." A da gedu sikki nyi kille n ɓa. Ke ji n ɓa warene baane n di, ke n xa ji n ɓa warene baane n di. Naxa-dun-gede kaawante n ni. A ti, "Kaawafi faayi!" Gedu n ti, "Kaawafi feti o ku. Daga kaane."

A da yitte n nyi kille n ɓa. A dag'a sirawu n ɓa. Kiye n d'a buyi, a ri kiye n ɓa a taani mulo. A ti, "Kaawafi faayi!" Yitte n ti, "Kaawafi feti n ke. Daga kaane." A daga a ri kaawafi remme n nyi saqqa, a xase, yimme n xura, singe n xura. A ti, "Kaawafi!" Remme n ti, "Kaawafi feti n ke. Kaawafi remme n ya ni n ɓa. Daga kaane."

A da murunto n nyi i wa xooda katini i do Kaawafi. A ti, "Ba, Kaawafi!" Kaawafi ti, "Nam?" A ti, "Ayi, an feti kaawafi." A ti, "N ya ni Kaawafi." Kaawafi ti, "An da manne wari kille n ɓa?" A ti, "N da gumbu filli n nyi kille n ɓa, tammu nyeri wa baane n ɓa a wa yigene. Tan banne wa banne n ɓa a kori yigene." Kaawafi ti, "Tammu nyeri wa gumbo be yi ka xoore lemme n ya ni. Tan baane wa gumbo be yi ka tugune lemme n ya ni."

A ti, "Toɗu." A ti, "N da sugun-dige n nyi kille n ɓa, a wo gide n takkini." A ti, "Yaxari-xoore n yaa ni, a saaraye, tankarage siine, a do yugo, a saaraye tanfille siine. Ku nta remme kitta." A ti, "toɗu."

A ti, "N da gedu sikki nyi kille n di, baane n ji n ɓa warene baane n di, baane n xa jinɓa warene ketere n di. Naxaane n xalle n kaawante n ya ni." Kaawafi ti, "Tunka n yugu n filli ya ni. I laaton ɓa me yi, xa i wa me xibaaru n mukku, misikiino n ɓ'i naxa n ɓa. I nta fo mukku." A ti, "Toɗu."

The Marvel

He said, "I found a tree on the route, and I went into its shade. The sun burned me. I came out in the sun and my feet became cold." The Marvel said, "This is the symbol of a miserly rich man. He gives nothing that he has. The sun, by contrast, is generous. It is poor, but it helps you." He said, "That is the truth." He added, "I came upon a man on the route. He was old with a beard and white hair. I said 'Father Marvel.' He said, 'I'm not a Marvel. I am only the son of a Marvel.'"

The Marvel said, "The old man today can't sleep while his son plays ball with children. Thus it is me who plays while my son sleeps." He said, "This is the truth."

A ti, "Yitte nyi kille n ɲa, n daga a sirawu n ɲa. Kiye n da n buyi. N li kiye n ɲa n taani mulo." Kaawafi ti, "Banna bure n ya ni. A nta fo kinni an ɲa, fo w'a maxa. Keyi n ni sare sire n ya. A korinte n ya ni. X'a wa kuyindini." A ti, "Toɲu." A ti, "N li yugo n nyi kille n ɲa. A xaso, sinqe n xura, yimme n xura. N ti, 'ba Kaawafi.' A ti, 'ba kaawafi feti n ke. Kaawafi remme n ya ni n ke.'"

Kaawafi ti, "Duna lagare xirise nta tumana lemmenu n ya tumana. Ke n ya ni n do murunto n ga xooda katini, n lemme n ga saqqa." A ti, "Toɲu."



THE HUNTER AND THE MARABOUT*

There was a great marabout. His son was a hunter of some repute. The son left the house one day and went hunting. He found a lion crouched in his dark lair. He sat peacefully and watched him. The lion was healthy; however, he did not move from his spot.

He sat and sat. When he had sat for a long time, a hyena came chasing a bird, which sought sanctuary in the brush. The lion raised his head when he saw the hyena. The hyena fled. The bird got just in front of the lion. He caught it and ate it. Then he sat back down in the darkness.

The hunter came back home. He lay down to rest in his room. Then he said, "My father, I have seen an astonishing thing today." "My son, what is this thing?" He said, "I found myself today in front of a lion, crouched in a lair. He had a broken leg. I sat and watched him. He was healthy. I asked myself how he could feed himself, with God's aid. When I had sat a long time, a hyena came chasing a bird. The bird was exhausted. When it tried to hide in the brush, it encountered the lion. When it (the lion) spotted the hyena, it fled. It (the lion) seized the bird and ate it, then sat back down in its lair. My Father, only Allah can save us. From this moment I am not going back out into the world. I am not going to move from my chamber."

The father said, "There is nothing inappropriate in that story, my child. But as for you, what do you want to be? Do you want to become the lion or the hyena?" He said, "My father, I want to become the lion. Haven't I said that the hyena chased the bird in vain, and that the hidden lion caught it and ate to his satisfaction without leaving his lair? Me, I want to be like the lion. I will no longer come out of my room."

He (the marabout) said, "My son?" He said, "Yes?" He said, "Don't become the lion; become like the hyena." "My father, what does that mean?" "It means this: didn't you only see the hyena's suffering?" He said, "that is right." He said, "Become like the hyena and never like the lion." The child said, "My father, you still have not explained it to me."

"I am going to explain it to you. He who suffers a lot has merit and grace. He who remains hidden does not have an interesting future ahead of him, my son. If you think the opposite, then become like the lion. You will learn what comes from it." The son got up once more and went into the world.

*A Nioro story.

TOGAANA N DO MOODI

Ke nyi moodi xoxonte ya yi. A remme n wo togini moxo siri. Lemme ke giri koota ya nan daga togi. A daga, a nyi xooru binne n na, jarinte n wo saqqa nona. A d'i taaxu moxo n cirondi. A wo jarinte ke hayini. Jarinte ke xa birante n yanyi x'a muruxu.

A taaxu, a taaxu. A ga dalla taaxunu, laxabure n da bokiine n qata, bida-bida t'i wo rini xose xooru n wure. Jarinte n da yinkola n giri, a gada laxabure n payi. Laxabure n wuru. Ke n d'a nyi bokiine kinye jarinte n na. A da goro ny'a di n'a yiga. A ga hagu, a xiire nan cooti i batte n na.

Togaana ke saage rini ka n na. A saxu, a ga tumma birambe. A ti, "N paaba, n ke da kayihi wari lenki." "N lemme, ke n ni ka n na?" A ti, "N ke daga jarinte ta xosonte yogo ya xooru n na. N taaxu n'a haya a ma kara. A biranten ya nyi. N ti yelli ke wo birene alla maxa moxo be. N ga dalla taaxunu, laxabure n na bokiine n qata n'a xata. A tampi. Bokiine n ga t'i wo rono xooru di nuggu be, ke n gemu jarinte n caxuna n na. A gada i yaaxe n pitta laxabure n di, a wuru. A da bokiine ke raga nan qusa a yiga, nan pagu nan qiiri nan daga saxu xooru n na. N paaba, Alla ya ni dangin-daana n na. Keta ke n ke nta gilli bakka n batte n na. N payi n caxu moxo n ciro n dini kompe n na."

Haabe n ti, "Bassi heti, n lemme. An ke n'a munda an na nya jarinte ke ya yi ba? Ma an na munda na nya laxabure ke ya yi?" A ti, "N paaba, n ke nyana jarinte n ya yi. N ma a koni an da nanti laxabure n da bokiinen qata nan konto ke taaxunta mulle ri a raga n'a yiga nan caage nan caxu i batte n na? N ke nyana jarinte n ya yi. N ke nta xa bakka kompe ke di."

A ti, "N lemme?" A ti, "Naamu?" A ti, "Maxa nya jarinte n na, nya laxabure n na." A ti, "N paaba, ke n maana?" A ti, "Maana be go ken na: an ke n ma daga do laxabure n tampiye n na ba?" A ti, "Yobo." A ti, "Nya laxabure n na, maxa nya jarinte n na de." A ti, "N paaba, an ma maana kini n na de."

"N na rini a maana kini an na. Ke be go tampini, barike na ke n ya di, baraje na ke n ya di. Ke be saxunta mulle gani laga de, n lemme. An ga ma raga saxu, an nan nya jarinte n na. An w'a dambe n tuunu." Lemme n giri hilla xadi nan daga do nnye n na.

THE HYENA, THE LIZARD, AND THE DEER

Once there was a hyena, a lizard, and a deer. They got together to make a bean garden. Every day the lizard would hide himself there and eat the bean flowers, until one day the hyena said to the deer, "Deer, there is someone who comes and gathers the bean blossoms. Let's set a trap for him." They made a trap. The next day the lizard came into the bean garden and the trap caught him. Some days later, the hyena and the deer came back to the garden and found the lizard in the trap. "Hey, Lizard!" they cried, "you've been fooling us a long time!"

They seized him and went into the shade of a tree. The hyena and the deer, they cut his throat and cooked him. The cooking pot was left under the tree while the deer went to look for salt and the hyena climbed up into the tree. He (the hyena) fell into the cooking pot and was cooked. The deer came back with the salt, but she didn't see the hyena. She said, "Is it God or a human being (that took him away)?" She went to look in the pot and she too fell into it. When everything was cooked, the pot began to cry, "May someone come who will take me off this fire!"

Another hyena, one from Nahali, said, "It's me. Be quiet! Shut up!" This hyena ran off with the pot, saying, "I won't eat anything until I get to the spot where the flies go 'bumbumbu.'" (Turunne ri yitte n sirewu) the flies say "bumbumbu." On his way, the hyena met a lioness and her cubs. He said, "Hey, Big Sister, I was looking for you. Here is a feast that you can give to your babies."

They ate without including the hyena. The hyena said, "Little One, give me a bone." The Lion Cub began to cry. The Lion demanded, "Hyena, what's wrong?" "Uh, I wanted to remove a fish bone," said the hyena. When they were finished, the hyena went to the river. He cleaned the pot so thoroughly that he made a hole in the bottom of it, so he cut off a toe and plugged the hole. He filled the pot with water. The Lion and her cubs quenched their thirst. However, the littlest one refused to drink until they removed the object he saw at the bottom of the pot. The lion removed it and the water ran out. The hyena fled. The Lion bounded and cut off his tail.

The hyena escaped and went back to his lair. The Lion came to the side of the hole and said, "Donsa, donsa, donsa, come out so I can check your tails." All the hyenas except one came out. "Have you all come out?" asked the Lion. The littlest one said, "One didn't." The Lion said, "You bastard." The hyena in the hole said, "Here is my tail, not cut." The Lion pulled it out of the hole. Its tail was cut off. She killed it. Since that time, people say it is better to have your fortune in your belly than in your mouth.

TURUNŊE DO KUUTO DO SIINE

Ke turunŋe ya ni a do kuuto, a do siine. I kafi mollon-faara. Koota wo koota kuuto na daga mollon-fuugun kambu ma koota baane turunŋe ti, "Siine, yogo ya ni o mollon-fuugun kotto de. O na bappe n tugu." I da bappe n tugu. Eita-filla kuuto daga mollon-faara n ŋa, bappe n da raga. Bito ga danqi, turunŋe do siine daga mollon-faara n ŋa, i da kuuto nŋi bappe n ŋa. "E! kuuto, an dall' o kamma."

I da raga, i d' a daga yitten-sirewu. Turunŋe do siine, i d'a xurusi, i d'a soro. Gine n wa jongini yitte n wure siine daga sappe muuri, turunŋe sege yitte n kamma. A xanu gine n noxo m'a ga moyini. Siine do sappe n ri a ma turunŋe wari. A ti, "Alla ma sare!" Si'ne daga gine n faayi, a xa xosi xan' a noxo. Gine n ga moyi, a ti, "yibe ga d' in jongi, a nan ri n yanqandi!"

Turun-tana ga ma Nahali, a ti, "N ya ni wo. Kuru! kuru!" Turunŋe di gine n wutu, a ti, "I nta yigana noqqu su siyanne ga tini 'bumbumbu.'" Turunŋe ri yitte n sirewu siyanne ti "Bumbumbu." Turunŋe n dangi a do jarinte d'i remmu gemu. Turunŋe ti, "E! Tata jarinte, n n'an ya muurunu. Yiganden faayi an n'a kini leminu n ŋa."

I da yiga turunŋe ya. Turunŋe ti, "Lemine, n ku xotte." Lemine wu. Jarinte ti, "Manne ni, turunŋe?" "N ni xotte n ya bakk'a yi." I ga duguta, turunŋe daga xooie h ŋa. A da saabara n koosi m'a g'a botono, a d'i tan doromme n r'a yi. A di saabara n fago ji n ŋa. Jarinte n d'i remmu mini. Legere n t'i ke nta minni m'i ga na fobinne bag'a yi. Jarinte n d'a fuutu, ji n bagu. Turunŋe n wuru. Jarinte bonte, a da xoque kutu.

Turunŋe n da firi a ro kumme n ŋa. Jarinte ri kumme n raqqa n ŋa, a ti, "Donsa, donsa, donsa, xa bogu n ŋa xa xoque n faayi." I su bogu, turunŋe baane toxo no. Jarinte ti, "xa su bogu, fofa nta non?" Turun-lemme ti, "Baane ma bagu." Jarinte ti, "Mere bakka." Turunŋe ti, "n faayi n xoque n, kutunte fe." Jarinte d'a raga. Turunŋe xoque kutunte n ya ni. Jarinte d'a kari. Gelli ke n ya ni sare warijaken xawa an gomme n ya.

THE CLEVER CHILD*

There was a man and his son. In the morning when they were eating together, the father used to get up and insult the child's mother. This was repeated every day. It went on five days. The fifth day when they were gathered around the dish, he got up and slapped the child's mother across the face.

"Father?"

"Yes?"

"Father?"

"Huh?"

"When you married my mother, didn't you taste her first?"

"My child is a damned child! You don't have the right to talk to me that way."

"Father, I think you put me into the world and I believed you to be fervent and wise, but I see that you have much to learn. It is difficult for a son to look at his father like that."

"It doesn't matter."

All that was in his heart he poured out on his son. The young man remained a bachelor for a long time, and refused all his father's proposals that he marry. He left the village and wandered far.

One day he got up and accompanied some other bachelors to the maiden's-quarters. It was God's plan that he should sleep with one of the maidens that day. During the night, he got out his fez, filled it with excrement, placed it under the girl's head, and left. When she smelled the odor, the maiden got up, took the fez and washed it, and kept it in her place. The second night, the young man went back to the maiden's-quarters.

"Kaati."¹

"Huh?"

* A Nioro story.

¹Kaati is an impersonal form for addressing a person, used especially by women for getting the attention of their husbands, whose names they must never say. It means 'someone.'

LEMINA-GOTONTE

Ke nyi yugo n ya, a d'i remme. Suxuba, i ga na nyi yigene, haabe ke wo gilli a wo remme ke ma kaana. Ke n ma nyi banteene koota su. A ri nan timme bitto karagi ya. Bitta karagande koota n na, i go yigandi n yokke n. A da henta kara lemie ke ma yaaxe n na.

"Baaba?"

"Naamu?"

"Baaba?"

"Hon?"

"An ke n ga nyi n ma yaxini, an m'a temu ya ba?"

"N lemme ni lange-ren-maxu n ya yi! An nta xawa na ke koni n ke da!"

"Baaba, n ke d'a simma an da n ke saara, n d'a simma an wo ho tu, janq'an nta ho tu."

"Baasi nt'a di."

Digame be ga liqa haabe n da, a d'a koni remme n da. Maxambane ke toxo i maxambanaxu n na. Haabe n ga na yaxare su mund'a da na bara ke n na. A yimme wo terene do debu n na, a wo yaarene.

Koota yi, a giri, a daga do maxambanu n na xusen-kompe n di. Alla d'a ny' a daga saxu xusunne yogo wure. Wuro n ga kinye sigira yogo di, a d'i kuhune n pakka xuro n bagandi, n'a ro xusunne ke yimme n wure, nan daga i kaara. A time ga bugu, xusunne ke d'a wutu n'a yanqi, n'a wara nona. A wuro hillandi, maxambane ke daga kompe n di.

"Kaati."

"Hon?"

"You forgot your headdress here."

"True."

The girl gave him back his headgear, which he put on his head. The same night he slept inside (the maiden's-house) with her. At dawn, the time of preparing breakfast, the maidens cooked and cleaned the halls. (At that time maidens aided their mothers in cooking.) It was God's plan that the young man would go defecate in the kitchen in the course of the night. The maiden got up and went to sweep the kitchen and her hands touched the human excrement. She swept them up and didn't say anything to anyone. Wasn't that the second test?

The third was when the maidens were preparing tô. Before taking it out of the cooking pot, they washed the bowls and placed them to the side. Then they got out the tô and rinsed the bowls. Then they put the tô in them.

The young man pretended to be merely walking by, when, taking a scouring pad, he tossed it into the rinsed plate. The maiden didn't notice. She put the tô in and added the sauce and gave it to her father. Her father ate a little, then discovered the pad.

"Kaati! You did that on purpose. You are going to kill me with a scouring pad in my tô. One doesn't even do that to a dog!"

The father poured out on his daughter all that was in his heart. The daughter's turn came to speak. She said, "Father?" He said, "Huh?" She said, "In the five years that I have been cooking for you today is the only day I have done anything wrong. Father, when you sow seeds in the rainy season and your hoe tears up some young plants by chance, can anyone say you have done it on purpose?"

The father said, "My child, I don't do that on purpose." She said, "It's exactly the same this time." He said, "My child, forgive me."

After this third test the son went to find his father. He said, "Father, go to those people's house and ask for the daughter's hand for me. I want to marry her."

The father said, "What is all this?" The son said, "I love her." The father said, "You love her?" He said, "I love her. God favors this woman that I love." They went the next day to ask² for the girl's hand, and her parents agreed to it, taking the tamma. They fixed the week of the wedding, and notified all the relatives and friends who were to be present.

²Tamma is a bolt of cloth given at the time of a betrothal in recognition of the alliance between the groom's family and the bride's family.

"An mungu an kuhune n ɲa yere."

"Toɲu."

Xusunne ke da kuhune n kin'a yi, a d'a r'i yimme n ɲa. Ke n wuro, maxambane n xa da a daga saxu noɲa. Hajiri n ɲa, yaxaru n ga nyi sorondini, i w'i kinu jaawana. (Waxati n ɲa, xusunne ke w'i ma maxa kinu n ɲa.) Alla d'a nya a daga xuru kinu ke di. Xusunne ke giri sorondi waxati n ɲa, nan daga kinu ke jaawa, a kittu n daga ware xuro ke di. A d'a bugu noni, a ma hokoni sere da. A ma timme ta hillo ya ba?

Ta sikkandi n ɲa, yaxaru n da suure n coro. I ga nyi rini a bagandi, i da yokku n yanqini n'i taaxundi. A halle i ga nyi suure n bagandin' i d'i salanqu. Ke n bire n ɲa, na suure n bagandi.

Maxambane ke d'i du nya dangana ya noɲa na yokku yanqi kacce n wutu n'a sedi suure n yokke n di. Xusunne ke mungu, a haqqire n ma a ware a da suure n bagand'a kamma. N'abotto n'a kin'i haaba ya. Haabe n loxoma hana, a nyoro kacce ke ya.

"Kaati! An d'a wutu a xanne maxa. An wo n ke kalli, an d'an ma, yokki Yanqi kacce, na ke n lo in cuure n di. Hari sere nta ke n nya i wulle n ɲa."

Digame be ga liɲa haabe n da, a d'a koni len-yaxare n da. Len-yaxare d'i du xanne n toxo. A ti, "Baaba?" A ti, "Hon?" A ti, "N ke ro wucce kinu n ɲa, a xaaxu karagandi n ya ni ke ya. Koota baane koota ho ma n'kita ma lenki. Baaba, an ke ga n'an te tihi Saaxondi, an ga na nyi soxono an tonge n ga na porogoto na yille be kutu yelli an d'a girindi a xanne maxa ya ba?"

Haabe n ti, "N lemme, n m'a girindi a xanne maxa." A ti, "Ke n go moxo be, ke xa wo kundu n ɲa." A ti, "n lemme, yampa n maxa."

Ke ta sikko ga timme ke n bire n ɲa, ren-yugo daga katt'i haaba ya. A ti, "Baaba, daga ke kaati hullani da ke remme mundu n'da, n ɲ'a munda n'a yaxi."

Haabe n ti, "An wo ke n ɲa?" A ti, "N wa a munda." A ti, "An wa a munda?" A ti, "N ɲa munda. Alla d'a nya a daga Yaxare ke mundu." I da yaxare ke kin'a yi n'a tamma n wutu n'a koyen caxundi, n'a ganci Yatirankon cu ya. I ri nyaxa n ɲa.

The Clever Child

After the wedding night in the bridal chamber, they brought her back to her husband's compound. From the day she came to his house, through four pregnancies, it was fifteen years. The father hid himself each night in front of his son and daughter-in-law's door, hoping to catch them in the act of quarrelling.

One day they were eating when he said, "My child?" He said, "Huh?" He said, "I want to ask something." The son said, "What do you want to ask?"

"It's now been fifteen years since you married this woman. Each night I hide myself in front of your door, but I never hear the least dispute between you. Why is that, my son?"

"Father, since you asked me, I am going to tell you the reason for this. When you fought every day in the presence of my mother and me, I asked you if you hadn't tasted my mother before you married her. You said I was a damnable child."

"Yes."

"Father, before I married this woman you asked me everyday to get engaged and to get married; I said to you that I wouldn't marry a woman who didn't meet my tastes. This woman I have now, I tasted her first. When you marry a woman, you should know her family and her character. If you are sure you understand her, then you marry. I studied the faults and strengths of my wife before we married."

A ga yaxi nan bugu kompe n ɲa, i d'a halla n'a rondi kiine n kompe n di, gilli, a ga halle m'a ga rini noxu naxati nya. Haabe ke xaxu tammi do karago, wuro su a wo da len-yugo ke d'i yaqqen ɲa, ma i nta gajana.

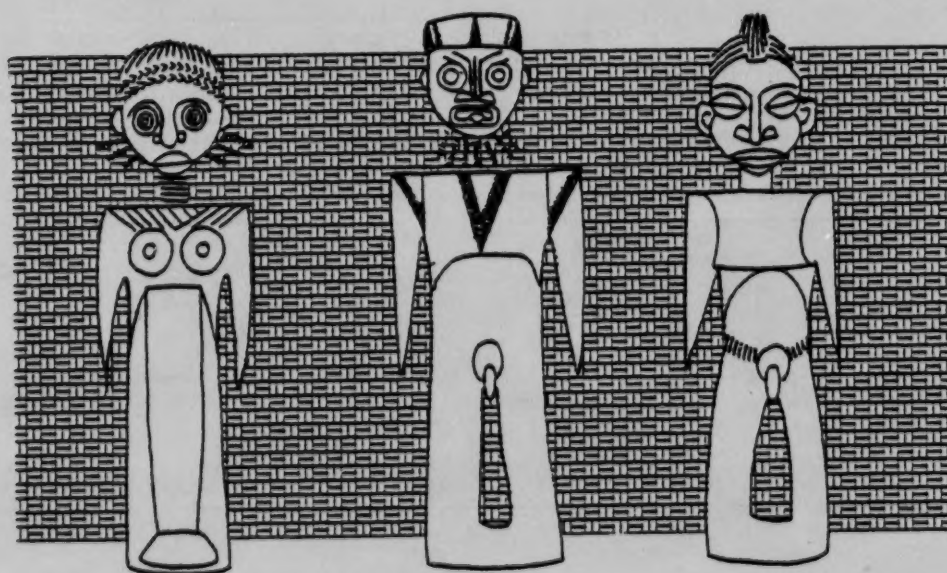
Suxuba baane i go yigene, a ti, "N lemme?" A ti, "Hon?" A ti, "N n'an tirindini." Lemme n ti, "an wo n' tirindini mani ya?"

"An ke n yaqqe n yaxi wucce do saasa naxa xaaxu tammi do karago. Wuro su, n ke wo da meggi axa raqqe n ɲa. N ma manqanwe mugu. Ke n qa sababu ni mani ya, n lemme?"

"Baaba, an ga da n tirindi n wa a maana koni andda. An ke ga gilli koota su na n ma katu n jondi, koota baane n ga d'an tirindi, nan ti, baaba, an wo n ma katunu yelli an m'a temu ba, an ma ti, n ni lengi-remme ya yi."

"Yo."

"Baaba, sadi n ga n yaqqe ke yaxini an da daaxa n taaxu n ɲa; Nan ti n na yaxare mundu n'a yaxi n ti n nta yaxare yaxini n ga ma n cago n wari, n ke do ke yaqqe baaba, n da a temu ya. An ga na nyi yaxare n waxini an na a jikku nttu an ga n'a tu axa hinu n wo toɲono me di axa na yaxi, n ke da n qalle jikku n ya tu n'a yaxi."



SONINKE LEGENDS

THE LEGEND OF THE BIIDA*

Dinga descended from Sileyman, the Persian. He first lived in Algeria. Then he left with his people to find a place of habitation. When they started out on the route, they threw the cowries.

They examined the cowries. They said that there was an old hyena, so old that it was not able to get out of its lair, and an old vulture that had lost all its plumes because of its age, who alone could show them the best place to settle. They searched for them and found them.

They started with the Hyena. They said to it, "We are searching for a settling place. We consulted the cowries. They said you and the old Vulture might show it to us." The Hyena said that he was old and could no longer move from his lair. They asked him if he would make some efforts to help them, saying "We will give you whatever you want that will satisfy your desires." The Hyena said that they couldn't satisfy him. "What will restore my strength, you don't have." They said, "What is this thing?" He said, "A hundred dead horses, one a day until three months and ten days are over." They agreed.

They asked him to show them to the Vulture. He showed them. When they saw him, they said to him, "We are looking for a settling place. The cowries told us to consult you and the Old Hyena. We saw the Hyena. Only you remain." The Vulture said he was old, that he could no longer fly, that he had lost all his feathers. They asked him to make an effort to help them satisfy their desires. He responded that he could do nothing. They said to him, "Tell us what to do to restore your feathers." He said they couldn't do it. They said, "Just say it." He said, "One hundred cadavers of young horses, one a day until three months and ten days are reached." Dinga and his people undertook to do it.

They made a tour. Each day one family furnished a horse for Hyena and another family furnished a little horse for Vulture. At the end of a month, Hyena could come out of his lair and Vulture saw his plumes growing back. At the end of the second month, Hyena was able to walk for a five day march and the Vulture was able to fly. When three months and ten days were over, Hyena and Vulture had regained their original state. All their force had returned.

*A Guidimaxa story.

DANGAMANU

BIIDA N

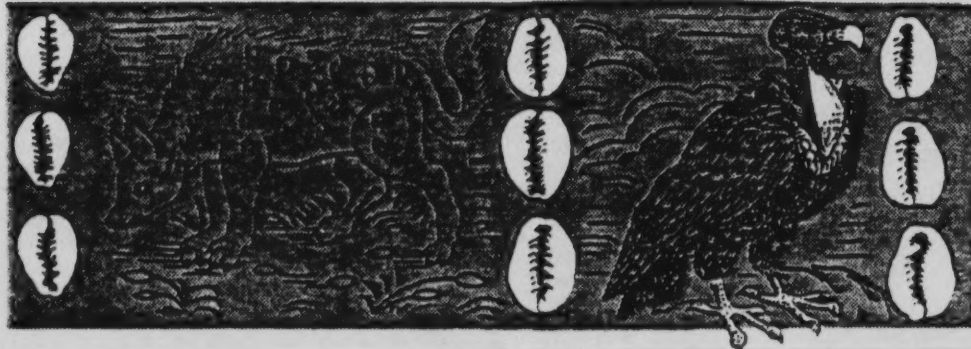
Diŋa bogu Sileman faris ya. A nyi taaxunu Algeri fina ya. A d'i jamane n maxa, a do jamban-xase, yintu n su ga joxi, xasoye n maxa, i ga gilli bire be, i da manjaare katu.

I d'i wari manjaare n ŋa. A ti turun-xase a ra ga ntaxa gilli xasoye n maxa, a do jamban-xase, yintu n su ga joxi, xasoye n maxa, i wa kumme yi, i baana yan katti taaxu-rexe koyini i ya. I d'i muuru ma i ga i walla.

I joŋa turunŋe ya yi. I ti a daŋa, "O ni taaxu-rese ya muurunu. O di wari manjaare n ŋa. Ti an do Jamba ya n katti a koyini o yi." Turunŋe ti i ke xaso, i lanti bari gilli i batte n ŋa. I ti a daŋa a nan duru xoto, "I na a haju n jaara, an ga fofu mulla, o na a nya an da." A ti i daŋa xa lanta a da. "Ke be ga n sembe n saagani n ŋa, a nti xa maxa." I ti, "Ke n ni manne?" A ti, "Keme si-fure, koota su baane, ma xasu sikki do bito tammi ga n timme." I ti i duŋe.

I ti a na jamba koy'i ya. A da koyi i ya. I ga di a wari i ti a da, "O ni taaxu-rexe ya muukunu. Manjaare n ti o na an tirindi an do Turunŋe. O da Turunŋe wari. A toxo an nya yi." Jamba ti i xaso, i xa ntaxa kampiini, i yintu n su joxi. I ti a da a nan duru xoto i na a haju n jaara. A ti i ra nta yi. I ti a da, "Fo ko o ga a nyaŋa a ga an ŋa yintu n caagane an ŋa." A ti i da, "Xa ra nta a da." I ti, "A ko." A ti, "Keme si-len-fure, koota su baane, ma xasu sikki do bito tammi ga n timme." Diŋa do i sore n duŋe.

I da nya me naxa n ŋa yontande. Koota su ka na si bagandi Turunŋe da. Ka tana na si-lemme bagandi Jamba da. Xasonga timme, Turunŋe saage bakka i kumme n ŋa. Jamba xa yintu n bogu. Xasu filande ga kara, Turunŋe saage yillene, bito karagi terende, Jamba xa saage kampiini. Bire be xasu n sikki do bito n tammi ga timme, Turunŋe do Jamba saage i moxo fana n ŋa. I sembu n su saage i ya.



The Legend of the Biida

They told Dinga to make a drum. Dinga did it. They fixed the day of departure. When it came, Hyena said to Dinga, "I will march ahead. Vulture will take the drum between his feet. You follow me with your people. Vulture will glide above us. When I cry out, Vulture will drop the drum. That will be the settling place. When we leave, you strike the drum. At that moment you will see what is to be done."

When these words were finished, they set out on the route. They marched like that until they arrived at Koumbi, below Oualata. The Hyena cried out, Vulture dropped the drum. Hyena and Vulture departed.

Dinga struck the drum. The grand serpent (the Biida) came out of his hole. He demanded of Dinga what he was looking for. Dinga said, "A place to settle." Biida said, "This is my place here. I will not let you settle until you have undertaken an enterprise for me." Dinga asked the nature of the enterprise. Biida told him that they should give him a beautiful maiden at the first day of each lunar year. Dinga asked his people. They all agreed. Biida authorized them to settle.

They made Koumbi the capital of the kingdom. The people settled in. They called the spot Wagadou. It became large and prosperous, so prosperous that they said the rains that fell were of gold.

Wagadou stretched from Adrar to almost Timbuktu. Soninkes and Malinkes alone were neighbors. The maiden was given to Biida year after year. This family gave her this year; another family gave her the next. She continued to be given until it was the turn of the Yatabere clan. They chose Asiya Yatabere for the serpent. Her lover, Mamadou Serekhote Fisuru, began sharpening his sword.

The day arrived and they prepared Asiya and pushed her toward the Biida. Biida came out towards her. At the moment he seized her, Mamadou Serekhote Fisuru cut off his head with his sword.

For seven years no rain fell. Their lives and fortunes were lost. The wells and the streams dried up, and they dispersed. Wagadou was thus destroyed. The ruin was under the reign of the Cissés, the title of the ruler being Manga. Many clans had reigned before the fall of Wagadou. Manga Dinga had six sons: Sokhuna, Diaabi, Cissé, Dramé, Diaguraga, Gandega. The principal companions of Dinga were: Dyabira, Khomma, Samassa, Silla, Dyamane, Tandya, Gasame, Dyari So, Bereté, Batyili, Wakkané, Saakho, Dyani, Semega, Yatabere, Makkadyi, Tunkara, Fisuru, Nyakhate, Fofana, Baygille, Baradyi, Ture. These were called the Wagu. Many Soninkes took refuge with the Malinke after the fall of Wagadou.

I ti Diŋa da a na taballe segendi. Diŋa da a nya. I da daga koota n kutu. Dimme be koota n ga ri, Turunŋe ti Diŋa da, "N ke na were kaane. Jamba na taballe n wutu i tani n naxa. An na n batu an do an soro. Jamba na toxo kampuni n kamma. N gana xaase noqqu be, Jamba na taballe n pitta no. No n ya ni an taaxu-rexe n ŋa. Bire be o gana fete me yi, an na taballe n kattu. Ke n bire an na wari fi be ga nyana."

Dimme be ke sefe ga nyeme, i were kille n ŋa. I toxo terene ke moxo ya ma i ga kinyene kumbi, Walata kamma. Turunŋe xaasa; Jamba da taballe n pitta. Turunŋe do Jamba yille.

Diŋa da taballe katu. Biida xoore bogu i kumme n ŋa. O da Diŋa tirindi a ga fu be muurunu. Diŋa ti, "Taaxu-rexe." Biida ti a da, "N ya fo ni yere. N ta an walla taaxunu a yi ma an ga n da layidu wutu n da." Diŋa da layidu n tirindi. Biida ti a na i ku xasu faranfare xasanne su salle n ŋa. Dina da i soro n tirindi. I su duŋe. Biida da i nyamari taaxe n ŋa.

I da Kumbi nya toorinta n debe. Jamaane n taaxu. I da non qiri Wagadu. A xooro, a kuure; a siro ma i ga tini a kammu nyi kanŋe n ya texene.

Wagadu da wutu Adrar ma Tombuktu kaara. Soninko n do malinko n baana ya nyi gingini. Xuso n kini biida n ŋa, siine o siine. Ke xabiila na a kini yirigi; kiteere n xabiila na a kini waga. A toxo kinini ma a ga kinyene Yatabareni n ta n ŋa. I da Asiya Yatabare sigindi biida n da. A xana, Mamadu Serexote Fisuru, a da i kaafa liŋonde n joppa.

Koota n ga kinye, i da Asiya yamba i da a yonto katte bidda n ŋa. Biida bogu katta a yi. A ga ti wa ragana noqqu be yi, Mamadu Serexote Fisuru da a xanne n kutu ti i kaafa n ŋa.

Kamme su ma texe i ya nafaxa n do nabure nyeme. Gedu n do ji n lagu n kaawa, i ri sanqi. Wagadu kere kundu ya. A kere siseni n toore n ya, toorita n toxo n ni manga ya. Xabiila gebe toori katti Wagadu ga kerene. Manga Diŋa remmu ni tummu ya: Suxuna, Jaabi, Sisse, Drame, Jaguraga, Gandeega. Diŋa kaapalen-xooro n ni ku ya: Jabira, Xomma, Samasa, Silla, Jamanne, Tanja, Gasama, Jariso, Berete, Bacili, Wakkane, Saaxo, Jaane, Semega, Yatabere, Maxaji, Tunkara, Fisuru, Nyaxate, Fofana, Boyigille, Baraji, Ture. I tini ku ya a da Wagu. Soninko gebe ro Malinko n ŋa, Wagadu kere falle.

LEGENDS OF THE EMPIRE OF WAGADOU

The Life and Death of Dinga Khore
Patriarch of the Soninkes*

1. Dinga, he was from India.
2. He left India to settle in Xirijo.
3. He settled in Xirijo for one hundred and one years.
4. He left Xirijo to settle in Sodom.
5. He settled in Sodom for one hundred and one years.
6. He left Sodom to settle in Yeman.
7. He settled in Yeman for one hundred and one years.
8. The Bards said:
9. "Dinga of Yeman, welcome!"
10. "Dinga of Xirigo, welcome!"
11. He settled in Jagaba.
12. He asked for Fatun Ganne's hand.
13. He married her.
14. He went to settle in Loth.

* * *

*Told by Diara Sylla and transcribed by Mamadou Soumare.

L'EMPIRE DU WAGADOU

La Vie et Mort de Dinga Khere
Patriarche des Soninkes

1. Dinga, a giri findi ya.
2. A giri findi nan li taxu xirijo.
3. A taxu xirijo kame do siine baane.
4. A giri xirijo nan li taxu sedowu.
5. A taxu sedowu kame do siine baane.
6. A giri sedowu nan li taxu yamani.
7. A taxu yamani kame do siine baane.
8. Geserun ti:
9. "Ya maninke Dinga nawari!"
10. "Xirijonke Dinga nawari!"
11. A taxu jagaba.
12. A da Jagaba Hatun Gane muwru.
13. A d' a yaxi.
14. A daga taxu luti.

* * *

The Empire of Wagadou

15. Dinga was of black complexion.
16. He was not white. He was black.
17. He left Yeman to go to Jagaba.
18. He went to marry a woman in Jagaba.
19. He got a child.
20. Hababa was in the East; it was in the distant East.
21. Dinga never reached the West.
22. After Dinga left Jagaba--
23. He came to Yeman.
24. After he came back to Yeman--
25. The Bards said:
"Dinga of Yeman, welcome!"
"Dinga of India, welcome!"
"Dinga of Xirijon, welcome!"

* *

26. Antelope with rusty horns
Buyer of rusty horns
Follow close and journey further
Being a surpriser of elephants!

15. Dinga ni hatan binnen ya.
16. Hatan xulle fe, hatan binnen ya ni.
17. A giri yamani, nan daga Jagaba.
18. A da yaxare yaxi Jagaba.
19. A da remme kita.
20. Jagaba wa kimbakka, a wa kimbakka late yi.
21. Dinga ma kinye kinqennan wa abada.
22. Dinga giri falle jagaba--
23. A yille rini yamani.
24. A yille falle yamani--
25. Geserun ti dan wa:
"Yamaninke Dinga nawari!"
Hindinke Dinga nawari!
Lutinke Dinga nawari!
Xirijonke Dinga nawari!"
26. "kutobenne dagere
kutobenne Sambaxa
Tenten xemeccu do
Mama Junne kamma!"

27. Dinga came to a well in Dalangumbe.
28. He found a young she-devil at the edge of that well.
29. He arrived at the well with his followers on horseback.
30. He said to the she-devil, "Give us water so that we can drink."
31. The she-devil did not comply.
32. Dinga became angry.
33. He struck the young she-devil.
34. Then the she-devil rushed toward him.
35. That young she-devil,
She had a hundred eyes,
She had a hundred mouths,
She had a hundred ears.
36. Dinga beat her until she was blind.
37. The she-devil struck Dinga and he became blind.
38. Dinga beat her and she became mute.
39. She too struck Dinga and he became paralyzed.
40. When Dinga became paralyzed,
41. His Bards said to him:
"Dinga of Sodom,
Have you forgotten the power you possess?"

27. Dinga ri gede yi Dalangumbe.
28. A da jinna yaxane nyi gede ke raqqen wa--
29. A d'i jaman li gede ke yi, i wa sinun kamma.
30. A ti jinna ke dan wa
"O ku ji o ga minni."
31. Jinna yaxanen ma dunwe.
32. Dinga butu.
33. A da jinna yaxanen fenta.
34. Ken dimma jinna yaxanen ma dire bakka.
35. Jinna yaxare ke,
kame yaaxe w' a yi,
Kame raqqe w' a yi,
Kame toto w' a yi.
36. Dinga d' a katu jinnan finki.
37. Jinna xa da Dinga fenta Dinga lungu.
38. Dinga d'a katu a mumu.
39. A xa da Dinga fenta, Dinga muru xu.
40. Dinga ga muru xu dimma be,
41. A geserun ti d'a:
"Se dowumke Dinga
An mungu korotu be g'an maxa ya wa?"

42. Dinga sent his messenger to fetch his fetish.
43. When the fetish arrived,
44. A hundred uncircumcized boys came with it, plucking chickens.
45. A hundred virgins arrived with the fetish, pounding millet flour.
46. A hundred old women arrived with the fetish, carrying spoons to mix the flour.
47. Dinga prepared the fetish.
48. When he finished, he put his hand in its jar and wiped his eyes.
49. His eyes opened.
50. He wiped his mouth with his hand,
51. And he was able to speak.
52. He wiped his ears with it,
53. And his ears opened.
54. He wiped his legs with it,
55. And he stood on his legs.

42. Dinga di faaren wara do korotun wa.
43. Korotun ga ri dimma be,
44. Kame murunte ri do korotu ku yi
I wa selinwun kotini.
45. Kame yaxan ri do korotu ku y
I wa yille juran gollo.
46. Kame yaxarin xase ri do korotu ku yi
I do giribu, i wa jura ke manaxana.
47. Dinga da korotu ku deberi.
48. A ga duguta biram be, a d'i kitten
lo jigine ke yi n' a maasa yaaxon wa.
49. A yaaxon wunyi.
50. A da kitten maasa raqquen wa
51. A kati Segene.
52. A d'a maasa torun wa
53. A torun wunyi.
54. A d'a maasa tanun wa
55. A sigi ti tanun wa.

The Empire of Wagadou

56. The Bards said to him:
"Dinga of India, welcome!
Dinga of Yeman, welcome!
You went to Xirijo!
You settled in Xirijo for a hundred and one years!
You went to Yeman!
You settled in Yeman for a hundred and one years!
You went to Loth!
You settled there for a hundred and one years."
57. They said:
"Dinga of Yeman, welcome!
Dinga of Misgon, welcome!"
- * * *
58. The earth swallowed the she-devil.
59. Dinga took her three daughters:
Xatane Bori, Jangine Bori and Binne "Sigan dumbu Xuso."
60. Dinga married them.
- * * *
61. Dinga went on to settle in Sonna.
62. He settled in Sonna until he was old.
63. He lost his eyesight.
64. There was a certain old slave with him; his name was Situro.
65. He confided all his secrets to that old slave.
66. One day early in the morning,
He said to Situro:
"Hold my cane
and let us go out of the village."
67. They went into the bush.
68. They left the path and entered a certain wilderness.
69. Dinga went to sit in the shade of a certain tree.
70. He told Situro to go back and wait for him at the intersection
of the paths.

-
56. Geserun ti dan wa:
"Hindinke Dinga nawari!
Yamaninke Dinga nawari!
An daga xirijo!
An taaxu xirijo kame do siine baane!
An daga yamani!
An taaxu yamani kame do siine baane
An daga luti!
An taaxu luti, kame do siine baane."

57. I ti: "Yamaninke Dinga nawari!
Misigonke Dinga nawari!

* * *

58. Nyinye da jinna yaxaren toni.

59. Dinga d'a renyaxarun sikki wutu:
Xatane Bori, Jangine Bori ado
Binne "Sigandumbu xuse."

60. Dinga d'i yaxi.

* * *

61. Dinga dangi nan daga taaxu sonna.

62. A taaxu Sonna m'a ga xasonne.

63. Yaaxin laga.

64. Komi - yigo xaso yogo wa d' a yi
a toxon ni situro.

65. A w' i gundonun su xalihan
ken komi-yigo xase ya yi.

66. Koota yogo, suxuba fanan di,
a ti situro da: "n'dokko laga
on daga deben halle."

67. U daga gunnen di.

68. U da killen wara, nan lo Xoroba yago yi.

69. Dinga daga taaxu yitte yogo sirewun di.

70. A ti Situro nan yille, nan dag' i
dugu killi - faton wa.

The Empire of Wagadou

71. When he realized that Situro had reached the paths' intersection
72. He cried out
"What God-fearing soul lives here?"
He said it three times.
73. Then Vulture came there.
74. Vulture said:
"There are god-fearing souls here.
Myself and Hyena."
75. Dinga said:
"I have a message I want to entrust to you."
76. Vulture said:
"That is fitting."
77. Dinga said, "When God wills that I die, after the sacrifices are made you must tell my people that they must rise and move to the west.
78. There is a place there; they call it Kumbi. There is a certain well there and a certain thing is in that well. They must talk with it because it is not an empty-handed thing. When they talk and come to an agreement, they may settle there.

* *

79. Dinga and Situro returned to Sonna.
80. Dinga told Situro "Send for my oldest son,
81. Because when you get old and produce sons, you should tell your oldest son
82. the secrets that you have.
You should tell him--
Some secrets should stay in his mind.
Some secrets should not stay in his mind.
83. Situro said "That is fitting."
84. He sent his messenger to Trixinye.
85. Previously, Trixinye did not respect Situro.
At meal times when his father had finished eating,
Trixinye used to put couscous over Situro's head.

71. A ga da tu nan ti Situro
kinye killi - faton wa,
72. A da du toxo nan ti "Kan Alla komo ni yere."
A da ko tani sikki.
73. A da nyi duga wa non di.
74. Duga ti "Allah komo-wa yere,
inke do laxabure."
75. Dinga ti "Haare w' i maxa, n' wa
mulla n' a xaliha xa ya."
76. Duga ti "Ken hati basi ya."
77. Dinga ti "Allah d' a nya, n'gana
kara, sadaxanun gana begu,
axa na ko n' sorun da, u nan
giri nan daga kinqenna.
78. Noqqu yogo wa non di, i wa
tini kumbi, gede yogo wa
non di, ho-yago wa gede ke
noxon di, u d'a na sehe, bawo
ho duuro he - u gana sehe, nan
gamu sarianu be kamma, ken
biren wa u na taaxu."
79. Dinga do Situro yille kata Sonna.
80. Dinga ti Situro da, "A na
haare wara soma - yigon wa."
81. Bawo sere gana xaso
an saare, an xawa
an d' an soma nan masala
82. Gundonu beni g' an maxa.
an n' i k' a da
Howu wa toqqa a haqilen wa.
honu nta toqqa a haqillen wa.
83. Situro ti "Basi nt'a yi."
84. A di haare wara kata Trixinye.
85. A da nyi, i gana nyi yigene
Habe ke gana giri yiganden wa
Trixinye, a wa Situro, a w' a
roxono, a wa sinqe, a wa
huton lon' a yi.

86. Jabe Sisse however was good to him.
87. Situro kept that in mind.
88. Now when the father told him to send for his eldest son,
89. Situro remembered these moments when he was mistreated.
90. He said to him,
91. He said to Jabe Sissé:
He said "Your father has sent for your elder brother. He told
him to come. He is old and blind. The secrets that he's got,
he (the oldest son) will get."
92. But you have been good to me and the price of goodness is
goodness. The price of ugliness is ugliness. Therefore come,
93. Those secrets will be given to you before him."
94. Jabe Sissé said "That is fitting."
95. He said "I am not like my brother.
There is hair on my brother's chest.
There is a gold ring in my brother's ear.
He has a bracelet
There is a ring on his finger.
My father knows those things
And I do not have them."

86. Jabe Sise n'a lalinwo.
87. Ken toxo Situro noxon di.
88. Haben gada ken ko,
89. A haqillin saxu ken noqqu kamma.
90. A t' a dan wa ni,
91. A ti jabe Sise da:
A ti, "An haba, a da haaren
wara, an gida yi, a ti a nan li,
i xaso, i yaaxonntaxa warini,
gundonu benu g'a maxa, a na honu kita.
92. Ken bire, anke gadi suroye be nya
nke da, suroyen tugadon nin suroyen ya,
bonoyen tugadon ni bonoyen ya An nan li,
93. Gundonu ku, a kanake, n' i kini an wa."
94. Jabe Sise ti "Basi fe."
95. A ti "Inke d' in gida nta baana,
yinten wa n'gida gigimmen kamma,
kanwen w' in gida toro
woro woron wa yi
xatu men wa kitten wa
aiwa, n'paba xa ni kun ya tu,
Kun xa nt ' inke ya."

96. Situro said "That will be all right."
97. He said "Go and tell your brother that he should lend you the objects; tell him that girls are waiting and that you are going to greet them."
98. He went to see Trixinye, saying "My Brother, girls have come. My companions and I are going to greet them. Give me finery!"
99. Trixinye said "Ha, my father says that I should come tomorrow in the afternoon."
100. Jabe Sissé said "I will return before then."
101. Trixinye took out the finery and gave it to him.
102. On his way back, he found that this slave man Situro had prepared a sheep skin, one that had hair. He had cut it out the size of his chest.



96. Situro ti "Basin nt' a yi."
97. A ti "Daga" and na ko, an gida
da, an na ti a na yokkun loxo
an wa; xusun li, axa wa da i kunyi."
98. A daga kata Trixinye yi,
a ti: "N'gida, a ti, xusun li,
in d'in me lemmun wa da
i kunyi, aiwa, an na yokkun kini."
99. Trixinye ti "uhum, n'paba ti
xumbane salihana, n' nan li."
100. Jabe Sise ti "Saado ke, inke wa yillene."
101. A da yokku ku bagandi, n' i kini
a yi.
102. A go rini, a da nyl, komi - yogo ke,
Situro, a da jaxa - faten kabi,
yinten go hose di, a gijimme ke
haqqe n' a yorondi.

The Empire of Wagadou

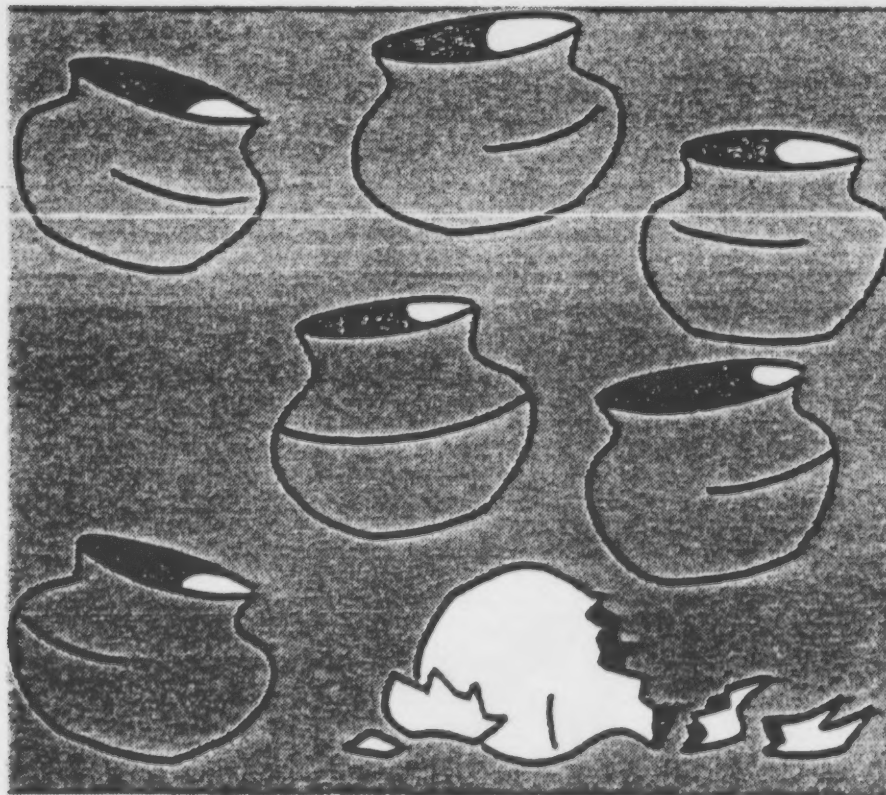
103. When Jabe Sissé came, Situro asked him "Have you obtained the finery?" He said he had, so Situro glued the sheepskin to Jabe Sissé's chest.
104. He came to his father and greeted him. The father said "Is this Jabe?"
105. Jabe said "No, it is I, Trixinye."
106. The father called Situro.
107. He said to Situro, "Go with Trixinye in the chamber, the men's chamber, where there are seven vases. Let him wash himself in all seven vases seven times. After he was washed, let him roll all seven on the floor seven times. Thus if anyone enters the room in the future, dust will stick to his skin."

103. A ga ri, a da tirindi, a ti "An
da yokku ku kita wa?" a t' i d' i
kita, aiwa, a da jaxa hata ke sapp ' a
gijimme.
104. A ri kata haben wa.
a d' a salamaile kumu
haben ti a da, "Jabé yani ba?"
105. A ti: "ayi nke Trixinye yani."
106. A da Situro xiri.
107. A ti Situro "An do Trixinyen
lo ke kompe yi, n' yugon kompa
ke, waatu ku nyeri be ga non,
an yanqi waatu ku nyeri su yi
tanu nyeri; an da yanqi, a
na gulun gulu tanu nyeri, maa
waatun nyeri su gana nyeme, seyin
hunee su gana giri d'a haten
wa, ken seyin hunee wa bakka duna di."

108. They went into the room, Jabe and Situro. Whenever Jabe Sissé finished washing in a vase, Situro broke that vase till they counted the seven. Jabe washed in one vase after another and when he finished, Situro broke the seven vases. When Jabe came out, he said to Situro, "Tell Dinga that he has finished washing himself."

* * *

109. Dinga said "When Jabe arrives, let us give him the secret which calls down the rain."
110. The slave told Jabe "When you go back to your brother and return his finery, you should leave the country. If you do not leave the country, he will kill you."



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-
108. I ro kompen di, a do situro,
 Jabe Sise gana yanqi waate
 be yi nan duguta, aiwa,
 Situro na waatu kara,
 maa wastu ku nyeri, a ga yanqini
 Sa baanan baane maxa, a ga
 yanq'i ya baanan baane maxa,
 nan duguta, a da waatu ku
 nyeri su kara, a ga bagu,
 a t' a dan wa, "A ti Dinga
 da, a t' a yanqi."
109. Dinga ti, "Jabe gana ri, kammen
 killen ga ni himbe be yi, i na
 ken kini."
110. Komen ti jabe da, "An gana
 kinye an gida yi, an gana
 a yakkun kin' a yi, an na
 Jamaanen wara, an ga m' a wara
 a w' an karini."

The Empire of Wagadou

111. Jabe went to Trixinye. They argued hard with each other. Jabe gave him his finery and he left the country. He went and became a shepherd in another country.

* * *

112. Dinga passed away in Jabe's absence. When he heard the news he continued being a shepherd.
He continued being a shepherd.
He continued being a shepherd.
113. One day when the cows were out to lie under the trees,
114. And Jabe was sitting under a big tree, Vulture settled on top of that tree.
115. Vulture said "Is there any grandson of Dinga in this world?"
Jabe said "There is one!"
The vulture said again "Is there Dinga's grandson in this world?"
"There are two!"
The third time he said "Is is not the case that there is one of Dinga's grandsons in this world?"
116. Jabe spoke to him, saying
"Dinga has a grandson in the world.
He has a son in the world.
117. I am his son--
118. So what is it?

111. Jabe daga kata trixinye,
a d' a dogo moxo siri, a
d'a yokkun kini, a da
jamaanen wara, a daga ro
naganiyen di, jamaane tana yi.

* * *

112. Dinga hati, a halle, a d'a
mugu, a jokki naganiyen di,
a jokki naga niyen di, a
jokki nagani yen di.
113. Koota baane, nanun ga hogu,
i ga soxu yitten wure
114. Aiwa, jabe wa taaxunu yitti-xoore
wure, dukan wa kammu, ake nta tu.
115. Duga ke ti, "Dinga kisimare
wa duna di wa?" ta hana,
a ti "Nke ti Dinga kisimare wa
duna di wa?" ta hilla, ta sikhande
a ti "Yelli Dinga remme nta duna di wa?"
116. Jabe ti a dan wa ni, a ti,
"Dinga, a kisimare wa duna di,
a remmen wa duna di.
117. A remmen yani inke yi
118. Aiwa, a ti manne hi?"

The Empire of Wagadou

119. Vulture said, "A message is like a debt..."
120. When your father was alive, we took care of all his business, and all his knowledge came from us. What happened in the course of the year, it was we who predicted it. We told him what sacrifices were necessary."
121. "That is why a message is like a debt."
122. "Dinga said there was a place in the west. After his death, you must leave the East. There is a place in the West, you must go there to settle. That place is called Kumbi."
123. Jabe said, "That place, how should I know it?"

119. A ti "Haare ni tambo ya yi
120. An paba, biren taaxun di, oku
yan nyi a hin su ya, a xibaren
su nyi oku ya,
hinbe ga hyana siinen di,
oku yan a kono
sadaxa be ga bakka siinen di
oku gan ' a kono."
121. "Ken yani, aiwa, haare xa
ni tambo ya yi."
122. "A ti noqqu wa kinqennandi,
i gana hati, axan bagu
kinbakken di, noqqu wo
kinqennan di, axan daga.
taaxu non, ken taaxura,
a wa tini kumbi."
123. Jabe ti, "Ken noqqu, o xa
na ken tunu kan moxo?"

The Empire of Wagadou

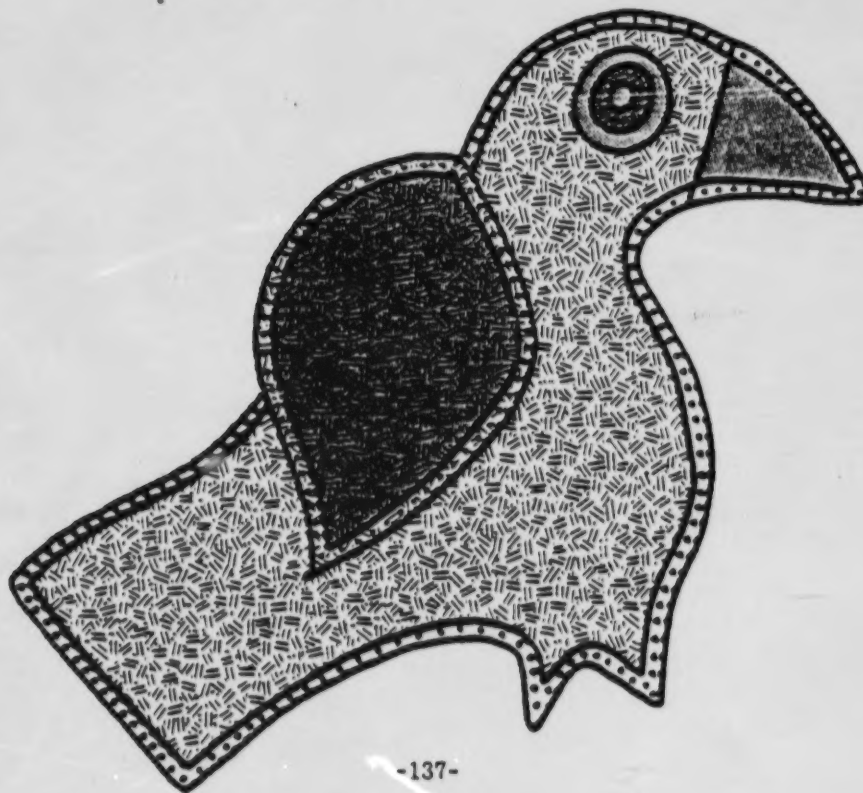
124. The vulture said "Forty young mares....each morning you will slaughter one young mare.
125. The mare's lung and its liver you will give to me and its meat, its remains you will give to Hyena.
126. When forty days are gone and finished, that should find us transformed to our old selves, even stronger than when your father lived."
127. Jave Sissé said that it would not be difficult.
128. He herded the cows back to their owners.
129. He took the path homeward.
130. He journeyed, journeyed.
131. On his way he met his older brother.
132. He said, "Older Brother, where are you going?"
133. He replied, "I was coming after you."
134. Jabe Sissé said "That is fitting."
135. "I too was homesick; I was shepherding."

124. Duga ti, "Tannaxate si
len-yaxaren, suxuba - su, an na
si len-yaxari baane kari.
125. A hurtun d' a butte, an n'a
kin' inke duga yi, a tiye, a
kutte an n' a kini laxabure yi.
126. Tanna xaten biton gana nyi
kinyene, a wa nyini o saage
o moxon di, nan xoto an paba kiye di."
127. A ti basi fe.
128. A daga nanun tunci i kammanun di.
129. A di kaara killen laga.
130. A wa da, a wo da.
131. A do giden gmu.
132. A ti: "N' gida, an wa da minne?"
133. Hé a ti, "Inke nyi da
an batten ya."
134. A ti "Basi fe.
135. Inde xa, kaara xiden yen
di laga, n' nyi na negent-yen ya."

The Empire of Wagadou

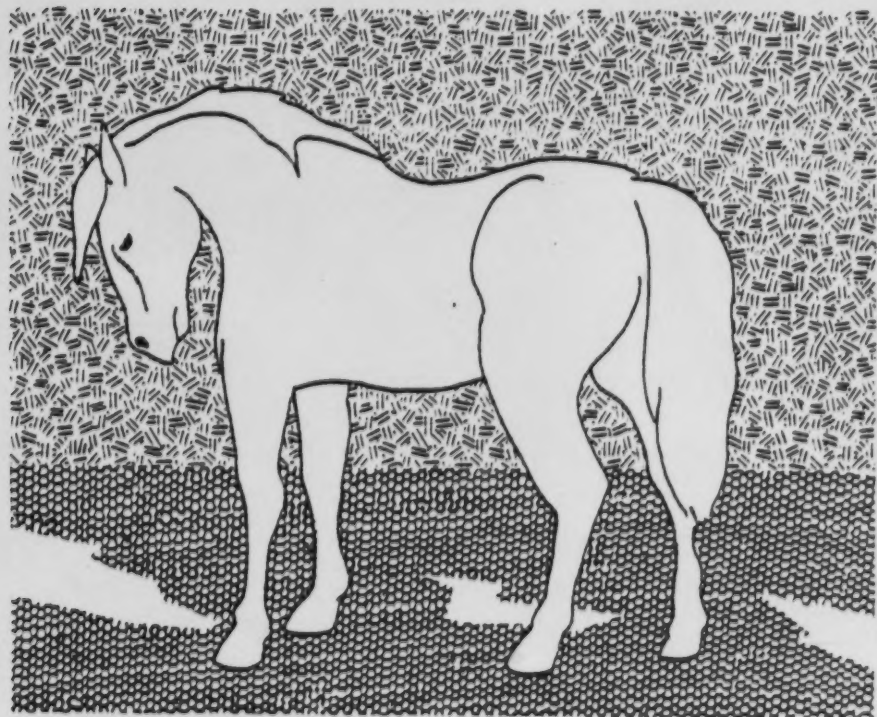
136. As they were going,
137. He said "My Older Brother, you see, a certain bird has spoken a message to me. I am telling you this because you are the older of the two of us."
138. Trixinye asked what the message was.
139. Jabe Sissé said that from the top of a tree Vulture had asked whether Dinga had a grandson in the world or whether there was not a son of Dinga in the world.
140. I said Dinga had a son in the world. Dinga had a grandson in the world.
141. I asked what it was,

136. I go dagana
137. A ti "N' gida" aiwa,
a ti yellinwe yogo da
xibare ko n' da.
anken yan xas'o su ya
n' wa kono an da."
138. A ti ken xa ni manne yi.
139. A ti duga di du toxo
yitten kamma, nan ti,
yelli Dinga kisimare nta
duna di wa? Wola Dinga
remme nta duna di wa?
140. n' ti Dinga remmen wa duna
di, Dinga kisimaren wa duna di.
141. n' ti manne ni?



-137-

142. He said that a message was a debt.
"Where your father was alive
He told us that when he died
His sons should move West.
There in a place called Kumbi
They must go and settle."
The bird added that it and the Hyena were old
but that if we slaughter a young mare every day and give its
lungs and liver to it until forty young mares are counted, and the
remainder of the meat is given to Hyena, then they would go
to show us that place.
143. Trixinye said that it was not difficult.
144. "Let us go home. When my father was dying, he left only one
old mare. Let us go and we will gather our kinsmen."



142. A ti haare ni tambo ya
"An paba ga birene kootan
be, a da kon ' i da
nan ti, i gana nyl i
ga nta birene, i remmen,
in daga kinqennan di,
noqqu wa non, i wa
tini kumbi.
yere ya ni axa taaxura
axa na bagu sonna
axa nan daga taaxu kumbi."
A ti, ukun xaso
xa koota su, o gana
si len baane kari, n' a hurtun
do butten kin ' ike yi, ma
gana kinye tannaxate
silemme, h' a tiyen kutte
kini laxabure yi, i wa
telle non koyi o ya.
143. A ti ken hati baai yi.
144. "On daga kanun di
M' paba ga kalla, a di
Si yaxarin xasa baane ya toxo
On daga, o na xablla kahu me ya."

WAGADOU BIIDA

1. Father! I want you to tell me what you know about the Wagadu Biida.
2. That will be all right, that will be all right.
3. Biida is not empty-handed. He is Dinga's son; he is a Twi.
4. His twin brother is anthropomorphic; the metamorphosis did not have an effect over him.
5. Forty days after their birth, as the twins were lying on a mat, they disappeared.
6. Biida disappeared and turned into a demon, and went down the well of Kumbi.
7. They looked for him but they could not find him as he was in the well.
8. Katane Bori was his mother; she went to Dinga and told him she could not find her son.
9. Dinga said to the woman, he said to that Katane Bori, he said: "Hush," he said, "where he went, where he went, is where he was meant to be."
10. "It is our secret, it is a secret; don't tell anybody,"
11. "God will, until all the rites are completed."

WAGADOU BIIDA

1. M'faba, n' wa mulla, an ga fobe tu Biidan kamma, wagadu kacinta zoore an n' a ki o danwa.
2. Basin t'a yi, basin t'a yi.
3. Biida! Biida duuro fe. Dinga remmen yani; funikiren yani.
4. A funikire baane, ken moxon nya saren wa, nyaxatindo ma n' a yi.
5. Dimma be, i saareyen ga kinye tannaxate bito me ya, i fili saxunto ga dagon kamma, a sanku.
6. Biidan sanku, nan yille nan nya jinna yi, nan daga kumbi geden noxo.
7. Dimma be, a ga daga non wa, i d'a muru, i m'a wari.
8. Katane Bori, a ma yani, a di ko Dinga da, a ti remmen ma wari.
9. Dinga ti yaxare ke da, a ti katane Bori da, a ti: "kuru" a ti "a ga daga noqqun be, a ga daga noqqun be a ga legerini noqqunbe, a daga non ya."
10. O gundon yani, gundon yani, max' a ko sare da-
11. Ma Alla gada nya i gada sartinun su timandi.

12. They came to Kumbi; they founded the city of Kumbi; after the foundation of Kumbi, Biida and the elders agreed on some pacts.
13. The well in question was between Kumbi and the sea (river); there was a certain big forest there.
14. After they agreed on the pact, they made a big road which went from the well to the city.
15. When the rains come and stopped, seven months and seven days after they had stopped, the people of Kumbi would gather all the town, and make donations.
16. The morning of the donations, the morning of the day of the donations, everybody gathered in front of the compound of Kaya Maghan. The tom-tom players as well as the Marabout (wagués), all met there.
17. When everybody was there, Kaya Manga used to mount on a horse, and all those who were wagué (noble) followed him.
18. As for the young women, they put make-up on her; most extravagant make-up; the kind that made one not believe one's eyes.
19. The young horse was well fed; fed with caprice.
20. They would harness it and put the harness in the young woman's hands.
21. Kaya Maghan, and those who were noble like him, Kaya Maghan would take the lead, and the others would follow him.
22. The young woman and the baby horse, they would give the harness to the young lady, she would follow them.
23. The rest of the crowd would follow: who was a player of tambour, who was a singer, everybody was there, everybody chased toward the well.

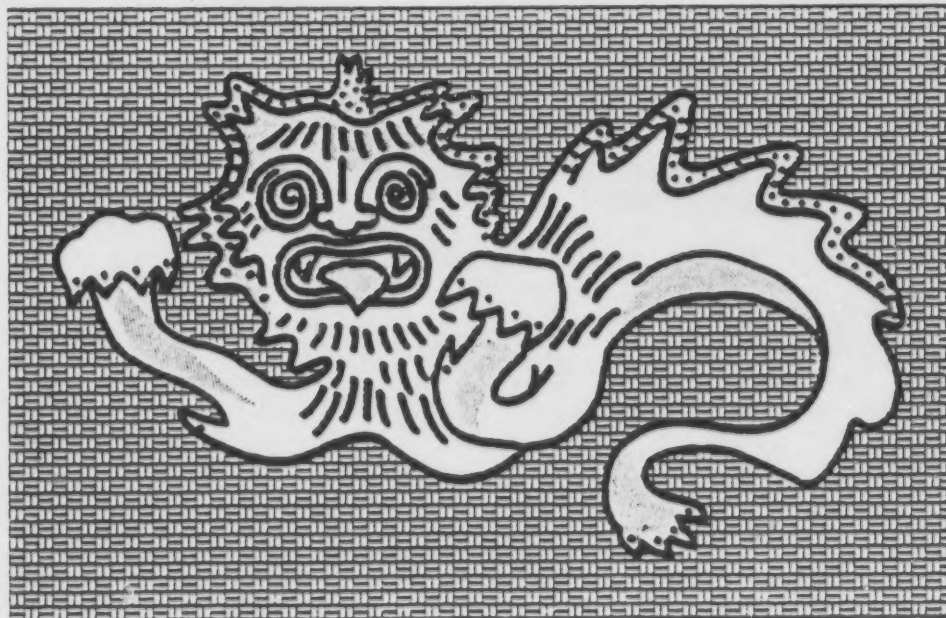
12. I ri kumbi; kumbi taaxu. A taaxu falle, Biidan yimme ado yerewurinun, i da sartinun taxundi me naxa.
13. Gede ke nyi kumbi do fanwen banwe ya naxan di, xoroba yogo nyi non wa.
14. I gada sartinun lo me saxa dimma ke be, i da nya killi xoo--ren wa, na soxo giili geden lage ma deben noxo--
15. Kammen gana ri, an da kuti, a kutiye xaso nyeru, a bito nyerunde, i na jamanen su kafu me kamma, i su na ri, kininden na nya.
16. Kininde suxuba, kininde koota suxuba, be su wa reni kaya Maxan folaqe, an dundun gume ni wo, an nya wage yi wo, be su wa me nyini non wa.
17. I gana me nyi non wa biran be, Kaya Maxan na setu sin kamma, ku beni gani Wagenun wa xo kaya Maxan moxo, i na suke d' a yi.
18. Fobe ga xo yaxanen, an wa nyini i d'a sansandi, sansande xempan yani ken di, ma sare be yimme yaaxe--
19. Si lemme ke xa, a fakka nin, ken ni fakke xempa yi--
20. I w' a xarabe lagana, n' a kini yaxane ke yi.
21. Kaya Maxan do ku beni gan baana kaya Maxan wa walla kaane, kuturun wa sukene d'a yi.
22. Yaxane ke do si lemme, i wa xaraben kinni yaxanen wa, a wre sukene d'i ya.
23. Jaman kutten wa falle an dundun timaana wo an sugaana wo, xa su wa non wa, xa su wa xatene kati gede ke yi.

24. As soon as the day broke, Kaya Magan would mount on his horse. The bards (geseru) would settle in front of him; from the door of Kaya Magan's compound they would start speaking, they would speak the word until they reached near the well.
25. When they came near the well, the crowd would divide into two groups; those with tombours and those who make noise (singing or talking) would stop.
26. The bards would be in front of Kaya Magan; the words, they were spoken without interruption; the bards were speaking in relays; when one finished speaking the word, another picked it from where he left it, until they reached the edge of the well.
27. Before they got to the edge of the well, as it was the custom of the country, the young woman that was to be given to the Biida, --they would have a seat made of gold--she would sit on that seat in front of the well, with the horse's harness in her hand.

At that time, the bards would have the golden seat, they would come near the well, and they would put down the golden seat. They would keep on speaking the word, the speech of the bards; in those words they told each noble man his worth; the young lady would be sitting with the harness in her hand; the bards would leave with the word, toward Kaya Magan.

28. Before the bards reached the place where Kaya Magan was, with their song, Biida would rush out of the well; it would roar.

24. Kiyen gana bagu baana, kaya Maxan na setu a sin kamma, geserun na war' a kaane, gillé kaya Maxan folage i wa sefene ya, i wa sefe ke kono m' i gana tinko gede ke raqen wa--
25. I gana tinko gede ke raqeu wa Jama ke wa taxandini fili yi, dundun gumun do manqan gumun, kun wa sikki.
26. Geserun wa kaya Maxan kaane, Sefen ke, ken wa konini ya de, i wa faraxunu me ya, ke gana nyi a walla, ke wa wuttu, maa gede raqqe.
27. Sado i ga jofene gede ke raqqe, bawo jamane ke ladan yani, yaxanen be ga kinini Biida ke yi, an wa nyini kanwen taxaade wa i maxa--yaxanen ke wa taxunu ken ya kamma gede ke raqqen wa, xarabe ke wa maxa--ken dimma, kan-taxaade ke wa geserun maxa, i ti geden laqqe, il di taxaade ke taxundi. I wa sefen wa, geserin sefe, i wa Wagenun bakka me yi; yaxanen ke wa taxunu, wa xarabe ke kinni a yi, i do digan-xannen wa yillene kati kaya Maxan wa.
28. Sado geserun ga kinyene kaya Maxan noqqe, i do geserin suuge, Biidan wa direne bakka geden noxo, a wa xiribene.



29. Everything on earth would take fright, would be afraid of its sight; everybody would be quiet. The Biida would go back down to the bottom of the well. When it reached the bottom, it would soar back up. When it soared back to the surface, it would roar again. When it roared, everybody would become deaf, everybody would be blind, clouds would instantaneously cover the sky.
30. The Biida would go back to the bottom of the well, and it would soar up for the third time. When it reached out it would roar; its roar and the thunder would mingle. It would wrap itself around the girl and the horse. It would go down with them; as it went down with them, every creature in Wagadu would be able to hear again. All creatures who had their sight taken would be able to see; all of them would be able to talk. And the rain would start falling.
31. Kaya Magan and the crowd would return to the town. When the rain stopped, Kaya Magan would gather the slaves. At that moment, on the earth, there would be plenty of gold, plenty of silver; nobody knew how many of these riches there were, except God in his majestic kingdom.
32. The slaves were picking up the gold and putting it in the granary. Other slaves were picking the silver and putting it in another place. They had granaries of silver and gold.
33. They put it in bags; they put the gold and the silver in bags made of cow skin.
34. There was a place for the keeping of gold. There was a place for the keeping of silver. Kaya Maxa had that. That was the occupation of the slaves in Wagadu. When they gathered the gold in bags and the gold in the bag makes a noise like "Kusan Tusana" they called them the Kusan.

29. Fo fo ga nyinyen kamma, a wa singirini, a wa kanna a wariyen wa, be su wa kurunu--A wa yankana geden noxo. A ga na yanga geden noxo, a wa yillene direne bakka. A gana dire bakka, a wa xiribene, A gana xitibe, be su torun wa lungunu, be su yaaxun wa regene, kammen wa finana non do non wa.
30. A wa yillene nan yanka e A wa direne bakka ta sikkanden wa. A gana dire bakka, a wa xiribene, a xiribanten do kammen diriye wa me tagana. A wa fanafenene yaxanen do silemmen wa. A d' i wa yankana. I gana nyi yankana, fo fo ga ni tege fo ya Wagadu ken da nyi i su toru lungu, i wa wunyini. Fo fo ga ni tegefo ya, a gada nyi a ga flinki, a su yaxon wa wunyini, a su laqqen wa wunyini. Kammen wa nyinyen lagana.
31. Kaya Maxan ado jaman wa yillene kati kanun wa--kammen gana kuti, a wa komon kappa me yi. A wa nyini. Nyinyen kamma, kanwen yani wa, ma goden yani wa, sare su n' ta tu, ma Alla d'i tun kaaxu.
32. Komon yogo wa kanwen sagarana, i wa telle a wara maran moxo, i yogo wa xalisi xullen sagatana, i wa tell a wara moqqu ya--Xalisi xullen maran yan nyi non wa ado kanwen mara.
33. I ga a xorono rono funbe noxo, kan ni feten ya. I ni kanwe ke do xalisi xulle ke rono na feten ya--
34. Kanwen ware noqqun wa no, xalisi xullen ware noqqun wano, kaya Maxan maxa. Komon gollen nyi ke ya Wagadu. Kanwen gana nyi segerene ti feten wa, a ga kusan--tusana d'i batten wa, i t' i dan wa "kusan."

35. Those slaves of Kaya Magan who used to pick gold in Kumbi, as they moved around, the gold and the silver that were in the bags, as they moved around, that gold and silver would shake and the shaking noise went like this: "Kusan-Kusan," as they ran around. People said they were bringers of the "Kusan-Kusan" noise; thus came the origin of the Kusan who were slaves of Kaya Magan. To be a Kusan originated from this "Kusan-Kusan" noise.
36. As they picked up the gold and the silver, and as they ran around, the metal in the bags made a "Kusan-Kusan" noise, and the slaves went faster to the beat of the "Kusan-Kusan" noise.
37. They were originally slaves, but they became the Kusan; it is these Kusa we have in the world today.
38. Father! You've just said that when the Biida soared out, the people used to become deaf because of the fear; now I want you to describe the Biida for me.
39. This is how the Biida was: The Biida was tall. It was taller than any snake ever made by God. It was unlike any snake. It had two ears that were red like blood. It had a protuberance in the middle of the head which fell on one side of the head like that of a rooster. Its eyes were redder than blood.
40. From the forehead to the waist, it was hairy. Its skin was black like the cloth dyed in the indigo of the bride. Who ever saw this creature coming out would be afraid. Two branches of hair were ceaselessly shaking down its neck. The protuberance in its head had grown so big that it lay on one side of its head; and it was even redder than the two eyes. There was no limit to their redness.
41. The Biida could not see anything. It used to see with its nose. It hunted things down with its nose. When it smelled something, it hunted it down with its nose. It was because Biida was blind that now, when a black snake gets older (bigger) it becomes blind. That's why the Soninke say that all black snakes that descended from Biida will get blind when they grow older, and will hunt with their nose.

35. Kaya Maxan komo ku be ga nyi kanwen sagarana kumbi, i daganto, kanwen ke be do xalisi xullen ga feten noxon wa, i danginto, i ga kusan--kusana i wurunto, i t' i dan wa i wa kusanwunu ken kun wa kusan sababun giri yere ya--kaya Maxan komon yani--kusaaxun kite ke kusan kusa ya batten wa--
36. Kanwe ke do xalisi xulle ke wutunte, ado i gana nyi wurunu a wa tini kusan-kusan i baten.wa, i wa jowono a sagaranden wa.
37. Komon yani, xa i nya kusa yi, kun kusanu ya fayi duna noxon wa.
38. M'Fabai An ti Bida ke gana dire bakka, jaman wa lungunu kanuyen maxa--Sasa n'wa mulla an na Bida ke moxon ko n'dan wa fone..
39. Bida ke nyi moxo be ken fayi: Bida, a gillen nyan nyi. Alla gadi kacinte su taga nyinye ke kamma a yan gilla su ya. Ado kacinte su n'ta baana. A toru, torun fili su dumbun yani "tyoi-tyoi." Jombo ke be ga yimmen wa saqqa xo selli-gamma xasen jombo ga saqqa moxobe y|. Kacinte ke jombon nyi ken moxo ya, m'a ga saxu fon--karan wa. An gana a yaaxen wari, a yan dumbunti feren wa--
40. N'a wutu tenwe nan dag'a wata naxaanen wa, yinten wa ken wa, a faten binner, xo manyun gara Biida faten nyi kundun ya. Yonki wo yonki gana ken wari, direne bakka, a wa kanna--lensu dumbu fili wa yelebe yelebene d' a yi jombo be g' a ya, xooroye buren maxa, a wa saqqa d' a kaaran wa; ken xa dumben yani ad'a yaaxon fili su; xempa nt'i xa dumbuyen wa.
41. Biida ke ma nyi fo walla--A waraindini ti nuxunnen ya--A murundini ti nuxunnen ya--Fobe timen gana ri a yi a wa murunu ti ken ya--Biida finkintaaxu, ken y sigi bari sasa, kacinta-binne a gana xooro buru an taxa fo walla. Ken yani soninkon ga tini kacintu binnunsu bogu Biidan ya kacinta binne, a gana xooro buru, a ntaxa fo walla, a wa murundini ti nuxunnen ya.

ORAL HISTORY OF THE GUIDIMAXA

1. This story is Guidimaxa's story; I, Lahaji Fode Sule Sise, have written it. I was born in Kumbandawu (1882) which was the circle of Serekeli. Now, I have settled in Sesagari, Mauritania, teaching people the way of Islam, initiated by Professor Maliki since 1919.
2. This story, I have heard it from my father, Fode Talibe, who heard it from my grandfather, Fode Amara, who also heard it from his father Fode Jageli.
3. What I have memorized is how Ganne came, and how the Sumaare were brought up, and how they fired their guns. This much I can tell.
4. Ganne, he came from the earth of Ondurman, the country, the biggest city of which is called Khartoum. Ganne was a man who was brave. He left the Sudan country, walked until he reached the Mande country. It was Sunjata who was the emperor then. He came across a blacksmith whose name was Sumaguru. It was in the wilderness they met. The blacksmith came with Ganne to Sunjata; he told Sunjata, "I have met this man in the wilderness." Sunjata told Sumanguru, "Take him to your house." He took the guest to his house; he welcomed him, and he put water in the washroom, and Ganne went to wash himself.
5. When Ganne took his clothes, on his head could be seen the hat (symbol) of houses. Sumanguru (seeing that) thought and said to himself, "how can a guest like this have as a host a blacksmith like me?" He went back to Sunjata; he told Sunjata the news of what he had seen on Ganne's head. Then, Sunjata authorized him to host Ganne in Sunjata's own guest room in a certain place. At that time, Sunjata had three hundred guests. Two rooms. The man Ganne shared a room with was called Fulla Xase. They stayed there.

GUIDIMAXA TAARIXU N

1. Ke taarixu, Gidimaxa taarixu n ya ni, n ke Lahaji Fode Sule Sise ga d'a safa. N saare Kumbandawu 1882, Selibabi serekeli. Saasa n wa taaxunu Sesagari, Moritani, n wa soro n xarannundini silamaaxu n kille n na, xarammoxo Maliki mujahabi gilli 1919.
2. Ke taarixu n d'a mugu n faaba Fode Talibe, a d'a mugu n kisima, Fode Amara, a xa d'a mugu i faaba Fode Jagell.
3. N ga ke be tu nyiline ke, ke n ni Ganne ga ri moxo be, a do Sumaarenu ku, i ga mare moxo be, a d'i ga di marafa n katu moxo be. N la wa ke n kono.
4. Ganne, a giri Ondurman nyiinye n ya, jamaane be debe xooore, i ga tini Xaritumu. Ganne, yugo ya ni a saage n ga ni. A giri Sudan nyiinye n nan tere ma a ga kinyene Mande. Ke n di nyi Sunjata yan nyi tunkan-yugaaxu n na. A do tage gemu, tage ke toxo n ni Sumaguru. I gemu gunne n ya. Tage ke do Ganne ri katti Sunjata, a ti Sunjata da, "N ke do ke gemu gunne n ya." Sunjata ti Sumanguru da, "An d'an dag' an ka." A do mukke ke dag'i ka n na, n'a bisimilla, na ji n ro wanqi-rexe n na. A n daga wanqi.
5. A ga d'i yiraamu n bora, a wari Ganne yimme n na ka n kurufe. Sumanguru di simm'i du maxa, nan ti ke, mukke ya ni a gan dara nan yanq'i ke taga-yugo yi. A d'a yille katti Sunjata yi, a da Sunjata xibaari ke be, a ga di war'a yimme ke. Ke n bire ku Sunjata d'a nyameri nan daga Ganne yanqandi a mukku-kompo yogo yi. Ken bire Sunjata, kammo-sikki mukkun-kompo ya n'a maxa. A d'a do sare be kafu kompe yi, i wa tini Fulla Xase. I nya no n na.

6. There came a messenger to Sunjata, asking him to gather warriors against the Soso country. Fulla Xase told Sunjata of Ganne's news, saying that he was a brave man, but he did not have weapons, such as a gun, or sword, a knife and/or spear. Sunjata said to Fula Xase, "The weapons, those he may have." Fula Xase went back to Ganne and said to him: "The emperor said that he will provide you with weapons and a horse; but refuse whatever horse he provides you with, except a young mare."
7. When Ganne was mounted on the horse, as they were going to fight Soso, whose emperor was Manga, Ganne pledged that he would have to bring back from the fight the head of the superior of Soso, and the head of the superior's son, Benuuru Mauga. Ganne went to Soso; he slaughtered Manga; he slaughtered Manga's son, Benuuru. He was so fast when he killed men that one did not know whether he was fighting under the sun or the shade. He slaughtered seventy horsemen.
8. When they returned to Sunjata, as all the best men were flaunting their performances in the war, Ganne remained silent; for a long time he did not talk. Sunjata said to Fulla Xase: "How about your man, you had said that he had a brave soul; he has not said a word." Ganne said, "I've killed Manga; I've killed his son Benuura." He pulled out the harnesses of all the seventy horsemen; and he said: "You can put this harness on this particular horse; and it will fit the horse, until each of the horses is fitted with its own harness."
9. When Sunjata was convinced of Ganne's fearlessness, he said that he would have to give Ganne a share of the plunder, a share that Ganne himself would choose. Ganne said that as for him, he wanted one of the women; a woman whose name was Teyi Xayi Kante. That woman was beautiful; her skin was good. Ganne took Teyi Xayi Kante; Sunjata completed Ganne's share with other things.

6. Faare n ri katti Sunjata nan ti a na kure n kafu me katti Soso Jamaane n na. Fulla Xase, a da Ganne xibaare n ko Sunjata da nan ti yugo saage ya ni, xa surumaade nt'a maxa. Ku n ga ni gajan-yokku: xo marafa, a do kaafa, a do labo, a do tamme. Sunjata ti Fulla Xase da, "Gajan-yokku, m'a ga da ku n kita." Fulla Xase saage katti Ganne yi, a ti Ganne da tunkan-yugo n ti m'i ga d'an ku gajan-yokku a do si; xa a ga na si su kin'an na, maxa dune de, ma jibe."
7. Bire be Ganne ga settu, i ga telle Soso n gaja, Soson-tunka n yugo n toxo n ni Manga ya. A ti m'i do Soson-tunka n yugo yimme n ga ri, a do a remme Benuuru Manga yimme. Ganne daga, a ri Soso, a da Manga kari, a d'a remme Benuuru kari, a da yugo kari, i na ti a nta kiye, a nta sirewu. A da tan-nyere Simaxan-lemme kari.
8. Bire be kure n ga saage katti Sunjata yi, yugu siru n su w'i xibaare n kono. Ganne ke n kuuru, wucci gabe a ma sefe. Sunjata ti Fulla Xase da, "An ke n xa sare ke, an xa ga ti yugu-saage n ya ni; a ke n xa ga ma sefe ko." Ganne ti, "N da Manga kari, n d'a remme Benuuru kari." A da tan-nyere simaxan-remmu a d'i su xarabu n bagandi, a na ti, "Axa di ke xarabe ro ke si fulaane, a d'a na gamu maa xarabu ku su fofu g'i si n kitta."
9. Bire be Sunjata ga d'a yugu-sagaaxu n tu, a ti m'i ga da taqque kin' a yi, taqque be, a ga ke be mulla. Ganne t'i ke xa n'a yaxaru ku yogo ya mulla, ke be a toxo n ga ni Teye Xayi Kante. Yaxare ke an faranfara, a fate n sire n ni. Ganne da Teyi Xayi Kante wutu, Sunjata da kuye ke timmandi.

10. Sunjata regretted his gifts to Ganne. When Fulla Xase realized that Sunjata had regretted his gifts, he said to Ganne: "You know, the superior has regretted his generosity to you; therefore you must flee with the woman; run out of Mande with her and seek refuge in another empire." Ganne did not sneak out of Mande; Ganne was not scared out of Mande. Fulla Xase repeated himself to Ganne. Ganne went out of Mande with three hundred and three men. First they said Fulla Xasse; second they said Nadeeja; third they said Muuse; then Ganne took away from Sunjata's army, nine hundred brave men.
11. He went to find refuge with Silla. They used to call him Jamera Silla; he was in Kombi-Kombi which was in the East, now part of Mali. Ganne told Silla that he wanted to join forces with him, but he, Ganne, could not settle in their territory. He wanted Silla to come with him so they could join Maxan in Gide. Meanwhile Ganne went further East to wage war; he returned with plunder. When he reported to Silla, the latter first flattered him, then told him that while he was away Sunjata had come to attack them. Silla had countered Sunjata's attack, and defeated him, and made him retreat. Ganne, too, flattered Silla. He then told him: "I want you to come with me to Maxan in Gide." Silla said that he could not go; however he volunteered his son saying "You can go with him." The name of the son was Mahamedi Mukke Soxona. Ganne went with him. Ganne said to Silla: "Your generosity with me has been unlimited; by giving me your elder son, you have best demonstrated your friendship with me. But let me take a vow for you: Whoever becomes your enemy will be an enemy to me; whoever loves you, will be loved by me. Your son that I am taking with me, I will always bear with him."
12. Ganne took off with the son; they came to Biiru. Ganne met Moxitari Sise in Biiru. The latter was coming from a learning center, and going to his town. He was on top of an ox; the ox was red; he had his books with him. Ganne asked him: "Where are you going?" Moxitari said that he had gone to search knowledge; now he was coming back to Mande, his country. Said Ganne: "Come with me to Gide, and become my marabout." Moxitari Sise returned with him.

10. Sunjata nimisi a ga da kuye ke be debari. Fulla Xase ga da tu nan ti Sunjata nimisi, a ti Ganne da, "An na tu tunkan-yugo ke, a nimisi golle ke be, a ga da debari. Ke n ku, an do yaxare ke an d'an wuru de. An d'an wuru, nan bagu Mande n noxo, an nan daga jama n tana." Ganne ma geeregeere nan bogu. A ma kanu, nan bogu. Ke n falle Fulla Xase da sefe ke fill'a da, Ganne bagu a do kamo sikki do yugo xoro sikki bagu. I fana, i na ti Fulla Xase. Fillande, i na ti Nadeega. Sikkande, i na ti Muuse, a do kamo kabi a do tan-kambe a do saro kabi, i ga ni yugu-saago, a d'i bogu Sunjata kure ke.
11. A daga yanqa Sillanne, i na ti Jamera Silla, Kombi-Kombi, a wa kimbakka, Mali n noxo saasa. Ganne ti da, i ke wa mulla, i d'a nan kefi, xa, i la nta taaxunu no n na, a nan ri d'i batte n, i n daga Maxan sagata gide. Sunjata do kure n giri, Ganne ga giri gaja kimbakka n na. A do nabure n ga ri, Silla n da tiiga. Silla n ti Sunjata do kure n giri nan ri d'a batte. I da gaja, i da ni, a yille. Ganne xa da tiiga. Ganne ti da, "N wa mulla an nan ri o n daga Maxan sagata gide." Silla n ti, i ke la nta telle, xa, i remme n faayi ke, "An do ke n na daga." Remme ke toxo n ya ni Mahamedi Mukke Soxona. A do ke n daga. Ganne ti da, "Fofa ma toxo an ga m'a nyenji n da; an ga da an ren-yugu sooma n wutu, na kini sare yi, ke n ni xanaaxu n xempa yi, xa m'in ga da lahidu wut'an da. Sare su ga d'an xoni, m'in xa ga d'a xoni; sare su ga da an xanu, m'in xa ga d'a xanu. An remme ke m'in ga da raga, n n'a munyi."
12. Ganne do remme ke daga ma i ga ri Biiru. Ganne do Moxitari Sise gemu Biiru, a ga gilli tuwaaxu muri, a ga teŋen'i debe. A wa sette gumbo kamma, gumbo ke dumbe n ya ni, a kitaabu n na maxa. Ganne d'a tirindi, Ganne ti da "an teŋene minne xa?" Moxitari ti i giri tuwaaxu muri ya, i wa teŋene kata i janaane n ya Mande. Ganne ti da, "I do n batte. O n daga gide an na daga nya n da moodi." Moxitari Sise sukke do a batte, Ganne do a daga.

13. Ganne waged war against Bacili; he won. He fought Wuleyidi Xoreyisi at Garalla; he came out victorious. (That Garalla was not this Garalla in Mauritania, it was within Mali.) Ganne crushed Biiru; he was a Moor. He crushed Misira; he was a Moor. He crushed Misira-Jolle; he was a Moor.
14. Ganne kept going until he reached Gide. He met Xiine and his family; the people call them by the name of Gandega. Ganne said to Xiine "Come with me, let's go to Gide." Said Xiine "I am afraid to come with you, lest you call me your slave." Said Ganne: "I will not say that." Xiine said: "I am bad, I have no manners." Ganne said: "No matter how rude you are, I can bear with you. No matter what bad things you do to me and my people, we will not lose our temper." Said Xiine: "Let's go then. Whenever we meet war, you will be on the right and I will be on the left; if they do not defeat you, they will not defeat me." "Let's go," said Ganne, "that is why I am putting up with you."
15. That was the origin of the weaving of intimacy between Kamara and Gandegan. Ganne and Gandegan marched toward Gide. They crushed Siiru; he was a Fule.
They crushed Siirimulu; he was a Fule.
They crushed Xuya; he was a Fule.
They crushed Xuyan-bers; he was a Fule.
They crushed Misira; he was a Moor.
He crushed Misiran-Jolle; he was a Moor.
After that they came to a certain grass which looked like a millet tree; but it was not a millet tree. That grass had just started blossoming. (The Soninke called this grass gands.) As for Xiine, he thought it was a millet tree. Xiine said to Ganne: "Look here, I and my people want to keep our eyes on this; when it ripens we will harvest it, so it can feed us."

13. Ganne do Bacili n gaja, a da ni; a do Wuleyidi Xoreyisi n gaja Garalla, a da ni (ke n Garalla feti ke Garalla be ga Moritani ya saasa, a nyi Mali n ya). A da Biiru kara, siragge n ya ni a yi. A da Misira kara Siragge n ya ni a yi; a da Misiran-jolie kara Siragge n ya ni a yi.
14. Ganne daga m'a ga rini gide. A do Xiline gemu, a d'i kore i tini ke n ya da Gandega. Ganne ti Xiline da "Ii do n batte. O n daga gide." Xiline ti da, "N wa kanna n ga rini d'an batte, an tini an kome n ya n'i ya." Ganne t'i nta ke n kono. A t'i ke de i nta fo tu, i bure n ya ni. A ti an ga na bure moxo su, i ke la wa an toora n munyini, an ga keti fofonyana i ke do i kore ke a wa tonono i ya. Xinne ti da, "O n daga, o do kure n ga na gemun-noqqu su, an na nya teye, n xa do n kore na nya nooge. I ga ma an ni su, i nt'i ke xa nini." Ganne ti, o n daga! Ku ma an ga da ny'i ga sabari an toora n maxa.
15. Ke ya jonan-lenmaxxaru n gesu Kamara a do Gandega n naxa. I daga ma i ga kinyene gide. I da Siiru kara, fule n ya ni a yi. I da Siirimulu kara, fule n ya ni a yi. I da Xuya kara, fule n ya ni a yi; i da Xuyan-bere kara, fule n ya ni a yi. I da Misira kara, Siragge n ya ni a yi. A da Misiran-Jolie kara, Siragge n ya ni a yi, Ke ne falle, i ri sokke yogo yi, a ga xo Summa, xa Summa fe. (Ke n da ny'a da kareye n joppa, Soninko n wa tini a da gande.) Xiline ke n da simma suuma n ya ni. Xiline ti Gaane da, wacca ke, i ke wa mulla i d'i kore n na ke tanga, a ga na moyi i n'a fata i d'i kore n na bire.

16. As for Ganne, he continued on to Gide. Xiine and his people remained watching the grass tree, until a wind, which came blowing, took away all the seeds from the gande (grass) tree. That was where the Gandega took their last name. Its Soninke etymology was "gande n daga" (gande was gone). Their last name connoted the cultivation of the land.
17. Ganne and his group continued until they reached near Gide. They remained there for nine days. Then came Maxan Sonsolon-daana; they also called him Gongola Maxa; he was the son of Maxan. When he saw the warriors of Ganne, he returned to inform his father that there was a big group of warriors behind Gide. Maxan thought that the warriors must have come to befriend him. But a long time passed without them hearing anything from the warriors. So Maxan, himself, went down to the warriors. He met with Ganne. Ganne said to him: "What kind of person are you? Are you a farmer or a warrior?" Maxan said he was a farmer. He too said to Ganne: "And you, what are you?" He said that as for him, he was a warrior. But Ganne did not fight Maxan. He told Maxan that a warrior and a farmer can unite: "You will farm, and I will go to war." After that, Ganne informed Maxan that there were enemies in the East Sahel of Gide; their chief's name was Sule Setigi, he was a Bacilin.
18. When Sule Setigi heard that Maxan had hosted warriors, he thought that it was Maxan who went to get the warriors in order to attack him, Setigi. He fled. Sule Setigi fled past Bambaku, till he crossed the river (sea). He founded Giyabuni there. It was those Bacili towns that were behind the river in Gajaaga.
19. Ganne took some of the Gandegani people to settle in the town Sule Setigi had just abandoned. Those Gandegani people moved in with the people who did not want to go with Sule Setigi. They were the Sooni who did not get along with Sule Setigi.

16. Ganne ke dangi katti gide. Xiine d'i kore n toxo no n ma fanke n ga gilli na gande ke su konko. Ke n ya ni Gandegani ku jammu n xosi nya Gandega. A soninka n sefe "gande n daga." I Jammu lasiri n ni Soxana ya.
17. Ganne d'i koro ke ri ma i ga kinyene gide wure, i nya gide n wure bito gabu. Maxan sonsolondaana n ri, i na ti da, Jongola-Maxa, Maxa remme n ya ni. A ga di kure ke wari, a sege nan daga xibaare ke ko faabe n da nan ti de kure xore wa gide ke wure. Maxa n da simma nan ti ke n kure, a ri xan'i ya yi. Wucce n gillo, i nta fi su mukku kure ke da. Ke n falle Maxan yimme yanqa, nan daga kure ke xerexere. A da Ganne nyi no n. Ganne ti da, "An ke n xa ni mendu sare? Soxaana ya ni an na, ma kure-gume ya ni an na?" A ti ke ni Soxaana ya. A xa ti Ganne da "An xa ni ma?" A t'i ke xa ni kure-gume ya. Ya Ganne ma Maxan gaja de Ganne ti da kure-gume do Soxaana, la wa kafini. "An ke n na soxo; n ke xa na daga kure." Ke n falle, Ganne ti kure-gume wa gide ke saheli-kimbakka n, a toxo n ni Sule Setigi, Bacilin n ya ni.
18. Bire be Sule Setigi, a ga da tu nan ti kure n, a'yanqa Maxan dingira, a da simma nan ti Maxan yan daga kure xobe, a ga rini xan'i ya. A wuru. Sule Setigi wuru, a daga katti bamboxu m'a ga fanne n kutunu. I daga Giyabuni sigindi. Ku n Bacilin debu ya faayi fan-qanne ke yi Gajaaga woxe.
19. Ganne daga Gandegani ku yogo taaxundi Sule Setigi debe ke nan kafu saro benu ga toxo no n di a ga da. Ku be nyi no n, ku n ni Sooni, i nya i da mangu.

20. The Gide, where Maxan had settled, was in Mauritania, between the cities of Nouakchott and Butchimiji. There were two different places called Gide: one was in the Sahel, the other in Bamboxu. Ganne's descendants were settled in the one in Bamboxu; and Maxan's people were in the Sahel one.
21. Ganne took off again to settle in Geefe with his people. Geefe was in Walaata's home. Ganne controlled all the land from Gide to the sea.
22. Ganne had four sons. The eldest was called Jawexe-Ganne; the second was Jeyi-Ganne; the third was called Sette-Dumbe; the fourth was Barba-Ganne. When all the sons were older, the one called Baba went out of Geefe.
32. The sons of Ganne waged war against the Bacili who lived in Kanlegeru. They defeated him. Bacili bowed to them, he gave them his daughter, begging that they should not fight him, and he would not fight them again. The name of Bacili's daughter was Boojo.
24. It was Sette Dumbe who took Boojo. Boojo gave birth to six sons. In total, Ganne's sons were ten. These were begotten by Jele Kante, daughter of Maxan; her mother was Maxan Malle Duo Sumare. (Baraninko and Botoxollonko, and Hayaaninko, and Hokolunko and Ganjinko, were all descended from that one.)
25. The six sons were begotten by Boojo. The last one was Jooro Gille Kamara's sons. The Gayi of Joozo were descended from that one. As for the six sons of Boojo, they called them: Gayi Boojo, Sege-Boojo, Jange-Boojo, Naxare-Boojo, Silli-Boojo, and Maxan-Boojo.
26. The sons of Silli-Bojo and Sege-Bojo were in Mali. Gayi-Boojo's sons were in Mauritania. Naxare Bojo did not leave a child behind. The sons of Maxan-Boojo were in Gambia.

20. Gide ke be Maxan ga nyi taaxunu a yi, a wa Moritani jamaane n noxo, a wa Butelimiji a do Nuaksoto naxa. Gidu filli, baane n na sahel, baane n na bamboxu. Gide ke be ga bambaxu Ganne kore nyi taaxunu ke n ya, gide ke be sahel Maxan kore nyi taaxun'a yi.
21. Ganne giri a d'i kore n daga taaxu Geefe, a wa Walaata kaara. A da nyinye n su mara gilli gide ma fanqe.
22. Ganne remmu naxati ya ni a maxa: ren-fana i na ti Jawexe-Ganne. Fillande, i na Jeyi-Ganne. Sikkande, i na ti Sette-Dumbe, naxantande i na ti Baba-Ganne. Birambe remmu ku su ga xooro, Baba ke n bagu Geefe.
23. Ganne remmu, i da kure n wutu i daga xanu Bacili n na a ga Kanlegeru. I da Bacilin ni; Bacili n de Saliyen nyen'i da, a d'i len-yaxare n wutu n'a kin'i ya nan ti n max'i gaja, i xa ntax'i gajana. Len-yaxare ke, a toxo n ya ni Boojo.
24. Sette Dumbe a yan di Boojo wutu. A da remmu tummi saara a da. O xosi ti Ganne remmu n su daga gemu tammu, Sikko ku, i ma toxo n ya ni Jele Kante Maxan ya remme ni ke n, Maxan Malle Duo Sumare ke n ya remme ni. (A ga da kini Ganne yi: Baraninko, a do Botoxollonko, do Hayaaninko, do Hokolunko, do Ganjinko, i bogu ke n ya.)
25. Tummi ke, i ma ni Boojo. Baane ke a ma toxo n ni Jooro Gille Kamara. Gayi-Jooronkon bogu ke n ya. Boojo tummi ke, i na ti Gayi-Boojo, i na ti Sege-Boojo, i na ti Janqe-Boojo, i na ti Naxare-Boojo, i na ti Silli-Boojo, i na ti Maxan-Boojo.
26. Silli-Boojo a do Sege-Boojo, ku n remmu n na Mali, Gayi-Boojo ku n remmu n na Moritani. Naxare Boojo ke n ma fo toxo. Maxan-Boojo ku n remmu n na Kambia.

27. The last war fought by Ganne's sons took place in Bulli; the Bulli which could now be found in Mauritania. Before that, the people of Janga had come down from Gide to go to found the town of Genyini near the sea (river). The people of Jafunu came also from Jafunu; it was hunger that made them leave Jafunu; they came to fetch their inheritance in Xarixozo. They wanted to settle in Bulli; there they settled. Their enemies were those people who used to come, up from Gide to the bottom of the hill to fetch their relatives. The people of Jafunu used to attack those travellers and take all their belongings from them. At that time, Samba of Karan was the elder of B-raninko; their town was in Gunga, inside Gide.
28. Samba of Karan took his warriors to attack the town of Bulli. He crushed Bulli; Bakary the moor died in that war. They killed forty brave men on the side of Jafunu. It was after that that they built the fence between them and Jafunu. They built one dune within Sooso towards Gidi-Gumbe. (The Gide was between Suttu-Xullu and Xullu, which was also in Mali--towards Bereji which, also, was between Gidimaxa and Jafunu.) Samba and his warriors went to build one dune in Horokejeli which was west of Jajigille, called Wawaŋŋe. From within Sooso until Sette-Xulle, passing by Bereji, Gide-Dumbe and Wawaŋŋe, only the Soninke language was spoken.
29. After that, there came a certain king, whose name was Aramani. That Aramani had an alliance with the Arabs. He was a bad king. He used to set fire to granaries. The warriors of Samba fought Aramani; they defeated him.

27. Ganne remmu a kure legere n ni Bulli ya, ke Bulli be ga Moritani saasa. Ke n di nyi Janqa-karanko ku yanqa bakka gide n nan daga Genyini sigindi fan-qanne. Jafunankon ri nan giri Jafunu, dulle n ya di girindi Jafunu, i ri keye n sagata Xarixoro. I da muuru nan taaxu Bulli, i taaxu no n, i xos'a nya keeta sare be ga nyi gilli gide nan t'i wa telle i maremmu sagata wureedu, i na xanu ke n kama n na i na a naburun boosi a yi. Ke n bire Karan Samba ya ni Baraninko n xirise n na i debe n na Gunga, gide ke noxo n.
28. Karan Samba da kure n wutu nan ri xanu Bulli. A di Bulli kara Siraqqe Bakari toxo ke n gajaqqe ya. I da tan-naxate sare sire kari Jafunananko n maxa. Ke n falle ya ni, i ga di ginge n sigind'i do Jafunu naxa. I da bulli baane bullu Sooso Maxanna, katti gidi-dumbe. (Gide ke be ga Suttu-xullu a do Xullu naxa, a xa ni Mali n ya saasa, kaati Bereji a xa wa Gidimaxa do Jafunu naxa.) I daga bulli baane n bullu Horokejeli a wa Jajigille kinqenna i g'a xilli Wawaqqe. N'a wutu Sooso Maxanna nan dag'a wara Sette-xulle nan dag'a wara Bereji, nan dag'a wara Gide-dumbe, nan dag'a wara Wawaqqe fofa nta koni ke ganta Soninkan-xanne.
29. Ke ne falle, tunkan-yugo ri a toxo n ni Aramani. Arama ke, a do Arabe n yan tinka. Tunkan-yugo bure ya ni. nyi yimben lono duguanu n na. I do Aramani ke gaja, i da ni, a yille.

30. There came a Bambara after Aramani. They fought that Bambara too, in Gajaga, in a town called Yafeera. They killed a relative of the Bambara king; the name of that relative was Mana. Because of that, the road was blocked; none could pass to go east of Saaferi. They had to put gold together and give it to the Bambara king so he could let them pass east of Saaferi. They entrusted the gold with Samba Fune and Jaaje Saalun; Samba Fune was from Sege; Jaaje Saalun was a Jawara from Gansoyin. The two of them went to the Bambara king, and begged him for peace. They were hosted by a certain slave of the Bambara king. The slave took them to the wife of the king. They reached the king himself; he wanted to refuse the peace pact, but his wife told him not to refuse peace with the people of Guidimaxa. He accepted the pact which was seventy pieces of white cloth every year.
31. What broke that peace pact was the coming of Sixu Maru. Sixu Maru started fighting people; he prepared people for war in Guta-Jolo until his army was big; people came from everywhere to join him. He set off with his warriors until they reached Bakeli. He found the white people there. He fought the white people, but he could not defeat them. The people of Guidimaxa spared to him two thousand warriors. Those two thousand warriors helped Sixu Maru to fight the white people; they fought the white people until they beat them; and they helped Sixu Maru to cross Bakeli. They helped cross Sooso, too, which was between Jagili and Bakeli; they made him go through the forest until they reached Sollu. When they came to Sollu, Sixu Maru asked where was Joogunturu? They said that he remained at the river bank. He asked where was Kunbandewu? They said he was left behind in the sahel. He said he understood. They continued on and Sixu Maru said: "But you may go back and tell your fathers that they must pay for the welfare of the army: lots of gold, lots of silver, lots of everything that can contribute to the welfare of the army." The person he sent to deliver his message was Jaaje Munniina; he was a Kamara from Segekaara.

30. Bambara n xa ri ke n falle ya. I do Bambara n gaja, Gajaga nyiinye n ya, i na ti ke n debe da Yafeera. I da tunkan-yugo ke waaxi n kari a toxo n gani Mana. Gilli ke n na kille n kara sare n nta xa telle saaferi kimbakka. Ke n falle ku, i da kanne kafu me nan daga saliye n muuru Bambara n maxa, a na kimbakka n kille war'i da, i ga telle saaferi. I da kanne ke kini Samba Fune a do Jaage Saalun, Samba Fune ni sege-Karanke ya. Jaaje Saalun, ke n ni Jawara ya Gansoyinke ya ni. I da Bambara sagata nan daga saaliye n muuru Bambara n maxa. I daga yanqa Bambara ke kommo-yugo n yogo, kommo-yuge ke xa da kini Bambara ke yaxare n na. I kinye Bambara n na, a nya a mulla nan bara x'a yaxare n da koy'i yi nan t'an maxa bara Gidimaxanko n maxa. A da Gidimaxanko n saaliye n Lagaraga-Saaliye ke nyi tan-nyere yira n xulle siine su.
31. Fi be na ke n saaliye kutu, Sixu Maru riye n ya ni. Sixu Maru xa gajanne n wutu na kure n saro, a da kure n saro n Futa-jolo ya ma kure n ga xabunu, saro n su da faabandi. A do kure n ri ku, ma a ga rini Bakeli, a di Tubaabu n nyi no n. A di Tubaabu n gaja a kori, a kori Tubaabu n nini. Gidimaxanko n di faaba ti wujunu filili hadamaremmе, ku n ya daga Sixu Maru deema na Tubaabu n gaja. Na Tubaabu n ni, na Sixu Maru karandi, nan daga a karandi Soso Maxanna, a faayi Jagili do Bakeli naxa, na gunne n wutu m'l ga rini Sollu. I ga ri Sollu Sixu Maru ri a ti Joogunturo xa ni minne, i ti, o di toxo fan-qanne; a ti Kunbandewu xa ni minne, i ti, o di toxo sahele; a ti wacce ke n na, i dangi, xa, axa daga na a ko axa faabenu da na kure n nafaxa n riiti: kanne, a gabe, gode, a gabe gabe fofa ga kure n nafana ta. A ga di sare be xayi ke n ni Jaaje Munniina ya Kamara ya ni. Segekaaranke ya ni.

32. When Jaaje Munnina arrived, he reported to the elders. He said that they had gone to war and they could not turn back; they needed help to keep the army going: from gold to cows, whatever can help the army. When they were splitting open the gold bags, Sixu Maru arrived. He said he was betrayed by the teacher (Marabou). He said he had come to make them bring out food for the army: "thousands and thousands and thousands...of gold." He repeated that until he was out of breath; "thousands and thousands and thousands ...of silver." He repeated that too until he was out of breath. "Thousands and thousands and thousands of cows; and thousands and thousands and thousands of white cloth." He repeated until he was out of breath. The person who collected all these was Jaaje; he collected the silver; he collected the white cloth; he collected the cows. After that, Sixu Maru also wanted Amirini, so they, too, could give him forty men. They gave him Hamidi Abidi. Abidi was the oldest of the forty men; he was from Gayi. Sixu Maru was also given forty women. There was Jaaje Munnina again. He would take a girl here, and give to a man there; he would repeat it again until all forty women were given to forty men. When Sixu Maru was taking his leave, they asked him to leave somebody with them. He left Sire Adama with them; that Sire Adama was the son of Sixu Maru's older brother. After all that, the white people brought war against them. They came through Joogunturo; it was a big war. The white people looked at Gemmu through their binoculars; they said that town was too small; they said that they had wasted too much bread, too much fortune, and too many soldiers for such a small town. They fought the people of Guidimaxa at Gemmu; they defeated them. Jaaje Munnina was a brave man then. His people said to him: "Let's flee, the white man has defeated us." He asked where was Sire? They said Sire was in his compound. "Take me there and leave me with him," said Jaaje Munnina. They put him with Sire. When the white men came to them, they cut off Jaaje Munnina and Sire's heads.

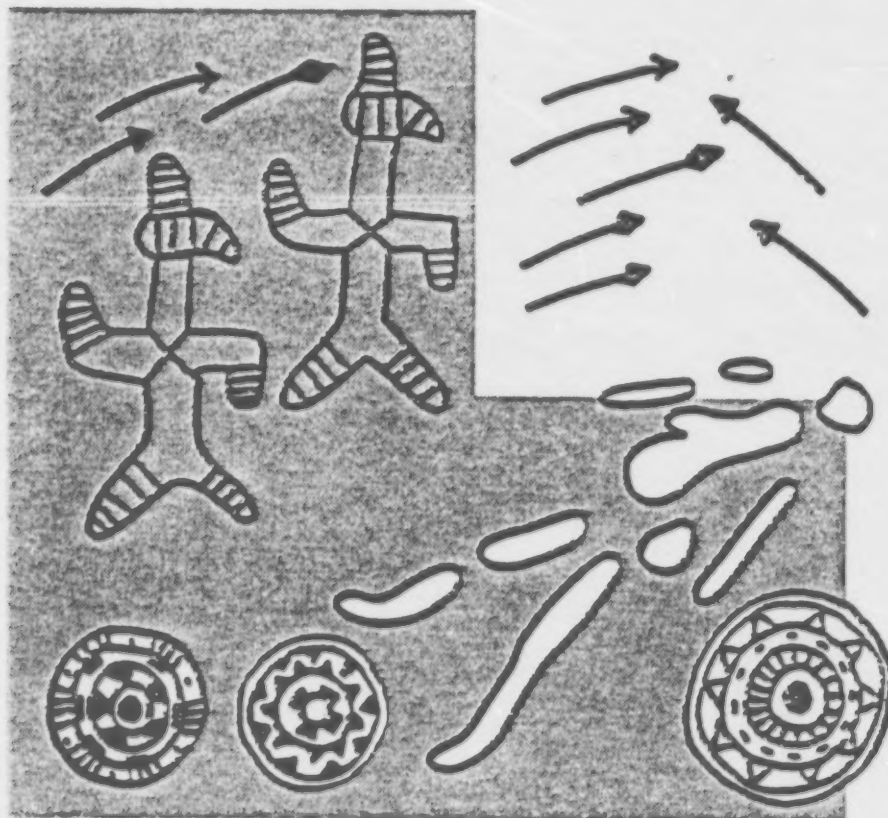
32. Jaje Munnina ga ri, a di ko xirisu n dan ɗa Gemmu n ti moodi n Jaabi, i daga, i la ntaxa rini, axa n'i deema kure n nafaxa gilli kanɗe n do nani, fofa ga kure n nafana. I ga botu n karana ta Sixu Maru ri war'i ya. A ti xaram moxo d'i jamba. A t'i ri ya, xa na kure n nafaxa n bagandi. Kanɗe wujune, wujune, wunjune, a da ke n ko m'a yonki n ga bittene. Xalisi xulle, wujune, wujune, wujune, a di ke n xa ko ma a yonki n ga bittene, nani, wujune, wujune, wujune, a di yira n xulle a ti wujune, wujune, ma a yonki n ga bittene. Sare be ga di ku kafu me ke n ni Jaaje a da xalisi xulle n kafu me, a da yira n xulle n kafu me, a da nani n kafu me. Ke n falle Sixu Maru ti n na amirin' kin'i ya. I xa na tan-naxate yugo xooɗe kini. I da Hamidi Abidi kini a yi, a ya ni tan-naxate ke sare n xirise, Gayikaaranke ya ni, a do tan-naxate yaxare. Jaaje Munnina giri xa di, a na an ke n len-yaxare n wutu, na a kini ke a na ke len-yaxare n wutu na a kini ke ma tan-naxate ke yugo xooɗe fofa ga fo kita. Sixu Maru ga telle, i ti a na sare tox'i xa maxa; a da Sire Adama toxo no n, ke n Sire Adama, Sixu Maru gida remme n ya ni. Ke n falle Tubaabu n do kure n ri, a daga kare ti Joogunturo, kure n, a ga nta nyememe, a do longorde n ri a da Gemmu faayi, a ti ke debe nan loxo, i da buuru perdindi nabure gabe, i da ke sordaasi wutu do ke debin-remme yi. A do Guidimaxa n ko n gaja Gemmu, a d'i ni. Ke n bire Jaaje Munnina, sage-remmu n ya n'a yi; i ti Jaaje Munnina da "giri o n daga, Tubaabu n d'o ni." A ti Sire ni minne; i ti sire w'i ka A ti xa d'in wutu nan daha n kaf'a yi. I daga a kafu sire yi, a ka. Tubaabu n ga ri, a da Jaaje Munnina a do Sire yimmu n kuttu.

33. The Fulani who had remained with Sire took off to look for Sixu Maru. He asked what had happened? They said Gidimaxa had been betrayed. He dispatched a message to those forty men. Hamidi Abidi said to the women to come with them; he said Sixu Maru was a fulani who was capable of killing them; so, the women could repeat, after the men's death, what they had said before dying. When they arrived, Siru Maru said: "These people had come to say that your fathers had been betrayed." Hamidi Abidi said: "These people had just run away." Sixu Maxu also repeated after him that the messengers had run away from Gide. "Yes" said Hmidi Abidi, "they had just run away." The next day other messengers arrived. Sixu Maru asked them. They said that Gidimaxa had been betrayed. He sent a messenger to Hamidi Abidi to say that their fathers had been betrayed. Hamidi Abidi said that they too had just run away. Sixu Maru repeated after him, he said that was correct. The third day other people arrived. Sixu Maru asked them too. They reported that the white people had crushed Gemmu. He asked whether Gidimaxa was betrayed or crushed? They said Gidimaxa was not betrayed. The white people had defeated Gidimaxa, but they did not betray it. He asked the whereabouts of Jaaje Munnina. They told him that Jaaje Munnina and Sire had had their heads cut off.
34. The white people sent their messenger to Selibabi asking the people to Gidimaxa to pay taxes. The people of Gidimaxa refused. The messenger returned to report that they did not want to pay taxes in Gidimaxa. The white men said that all Gidimaxa could not say so; it must be one mouth that uttered it. The people of Gidimaxa answered that they all did say so. The white people asked what was the reason why they refused to pay taxes? They said the reason was that one could not marry one woman to two men. If a person wanted to marry a woman already married, he might kill her husband first, then remarry her. "We already pay taxes to the Moor; to pay you too would be too much; we cannot do it. We can afford only one tax," they said. From Nioro, there was Sire Maru; every year he used to collect taxes with the people of Gidimaxa. It could not even be called taxes, it was an act of love. They said they could not afford all three obligations together.

33. Fulu be ga toxo do Sire yi, i da Sixu Maru faaba. A ti a nya mendu. I ti Gidimaxanko n jambe. A da faare n xayɪ tan-naxate ke sare. Hamidi Abidi ti yaxaru n da axa gir'o n daga fule n ya ni, a n'o karini ya, xa, o gana sefe be ko, axa na daga ke n k'o falle. I ga joofe, a ti ku saro ri ya de nan ti axa faabeni jambe. Hamidi Abidi ti, ku, i wuru ya. Sixu Maru ti i wuru ya; a ti wuru ya. Biti fillande, soro tanani xa ri. A d'i tirindi. I ti Gidimaxa jambe. A di faare n xayɪ nan ti axa faabeni jambe. Hamidi Abidi ti ku xa wuru ya. Sixu Maru ti ku xa wuru ya. A ti yo. Biti Sikkande soroba ri. A d'i xa tirindi. I ti Tubaabu n di Gammu kara. A ti Gidimaxa jambe ya, m'a kare ya. I ti Gidimaxa ma jambe. Tubaabu n di Gidimaxa ni ya x'i ma jambe. A ti Jaage Munnina xa ni mendu. I ti Jaage Munnina do Sire i d'i su ya yimmu n kuttu do me.
34. Tubaabu n ri ku na faare n xayɪ Selibabi nan ti Gidimaxanko na sagale n bagandi. Gidimaxanko n bara. Faare n yille nan ti Gidimaxanko n bara sagale n kinni. Tubaabu n ti Gidimaxa su la nt'a kono, laqqi-baane ya n'a kono. Gidimaxanko n t'i su yan t'i bara. I d'i tirindi fobe ga ni i ga bara. I t'i balle n ga ni ke be, yaxare n la nta yexini yugu filli. Sare n ga yaxare n yexiye n mulla a n'a kiina karini ya, a n'a saagandi o wa sagalle n kini siragge nan yille na sagalle n kini an xa yi ke n gabo, o la nta. O ni sagalle baane ya sensene. Sire Maru xa, a xa wa Nyoro, a xa Siine su, a wa rini sagalle n wutt'o maxa, sagalle fe, mudaara n ya ni. Gidimaxanko n ti o la nta ku sikki su da.

35. The white men said it was right what they had said. So the white men took their warriors to Niror where Amadu Julbe was reigning. At that time, Sixu Maru had died. The white men fought Lamudu in Niror. After, they left Niror to come back to Gidimaxa to claim the taxes. The people of Gidimaxa agreed to pay taxes. The white people said they (the people of Gidimaxa) were noble men who were commendable for friendship because they did not betray their friends. The white men said that what the people of Gidimaxa had first said was true: A person might first kill the husband of a woman, before remarrying her. A woman could not be married to two men at the same time. The first tax the people of Gidimaxa ever paid was three pennies a head. Later, the white men took the war to the sahel; they fought the people of the sahel.
36. When the sons of Ganne put down their guns and started living in peace and cultivating the land, the first neighbor they had, after the Gandegan, was the Keбенке. He too came with warriors; the Gandega informed Ganne that the Keбенке was his kinsman who was returning. He further asked Ganne to make the Keбенке stay with them. That was how the Keбенке stayed with them.

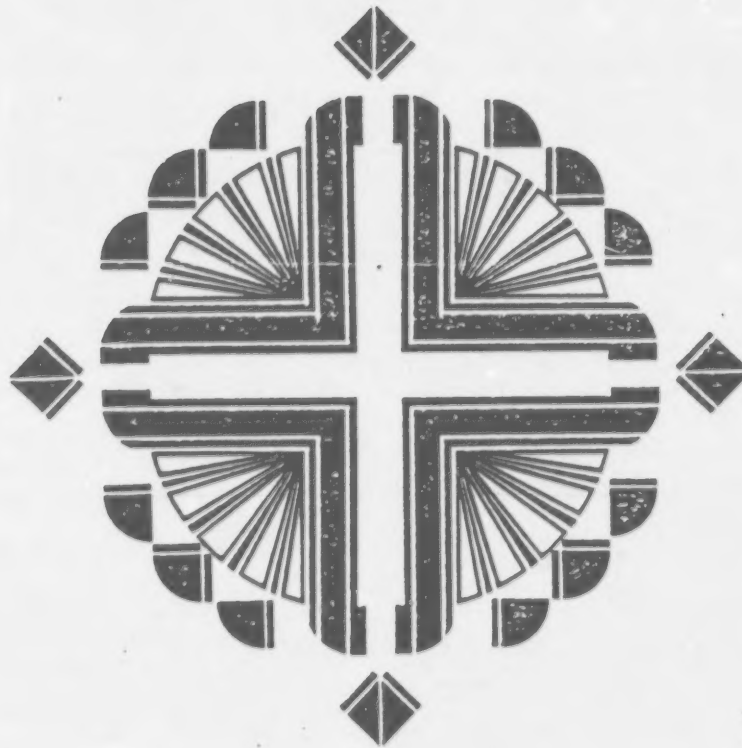
35. A ti axa ga di ke be ko, tonno n ya ni. Koriye da kure n wutu ku, nan daga Nyoro a da Amadu Julbe nyi no n, ke n di nyi Sixu Maru ke n faati. A do Lamudu gaja Nyoro. A ga giri Nyoro nan ri, a ti Gidimaxando n da, i na sagalle n kini; i ti i dune. Tabaabu n ti ku ga ni saro be tunka n yugu ya ni sare d'i gan xawa kafini bawo, i nta sare Jambana. I diga n fana tonno n ya ni. Sare ni yaxare n kiina karini ya an na a saagandi; yaxare n la nta nyana yugu filli danja yaxare. Sagalli fana fana Gidimaxanko n n'a tuga tankani sikki ya ni. Ke n falle Tubaabu n ri na kure n wutu nan teqe saheli, na Saheli xa gaja.
36. Ganne remmu n ga di marafa n saxundi na saafeeriye n nya a do soxe, sare be ga ri kaf'i ya Gandegani n falle, ke n ni Kebeke n ya, a xa d'i kure n yan ri. Gandega ke ti Ganne da, ke n'i maremme n ya i d'a ga saaxe, o n'a banta. I xa bante maana nya ke ya, i xa toxo jamaane ke noxo.



37. Tambenyinke was to arrive after that. They went to meet Tambenyinke at Little Gemmu. They asked where had he left his son. He said he left his elder son underneath this baobab tree. It was in that place that they founded the town of Somankide (Mali). They asked Tambenyinke to remain with them. He asked why he should remain with them. They said he would have a share in whatever they got. He said he was not interested in that. They said if he stayed, and if someone was to kill one of their sons, and if that someone was in his compound, they would spare him. He said he was not interested. They said if he stayed, he would be their interpreter to other people. It was on those three conditions that the sons of Ganne were united with Tambenyinke.
38. There was a dispute between Ganne and Sawaane at that time. When they fought, it was a draw. Tambanyinko, too, fought against Sawaane. The sons of Ganne and Tambanyinko united to fight Sawaane. They defeated him. Gayi, son of Modumbe, had a duel with Sawaane. They shot each other, but that did not have an effect since they were both invulnerable. They ended up throwing the guns away and fighting with their arms. Gayi, son of Modumbo, took his fetish and slammed it on Sawaane, saying: "May you not multiply." That was why Sawaane could not have a big family inside Guidimaxa. Sawaane, too, took his fetish and slammed it on Gayi's head, saying "If you ever name any of your sons Gayi, may God destroy him." Because of that no Tambanyinke call their sons Gayi.

39. Ganne and his sons had left Mande to join Maxan in Gide, before the rise of the Bambara. They had to use guns to survive for seven hundred and sixty two years. The Bambara came, too, and reigned for one hundred years; Sixu Maru came and reigned for seven years; his son Amadu Julbe reigned for thirty six years. The white man too came and ruled Gidimaxa, before he even was able to control all Mauritania, for eighty years. I possessed the knowledge of this which I got from the ancestors who wrote it down.

39. Ganne a do i remmu nan giri Mande nan ri Maxan sagata gide katti Bambara n ga rini, i ga di fu be nya toore marafa n g'i maxa kamo nyeri a do tan-tumme a do siino filli. Bambara n xa ri nan mare kame siine Sixu Maru ri nan mare sinno nyeri, a remme Amadu Julbe tan-sikke a do sinno tummi. Tubaabu n xa ri nan Gidimaxa mara saado a ga Moritani su kappa me tan-sege siine O tuwaaxun ni ke ya, o ga di nyi sara-fano n maxa i ga di safa.



Cultivation of the Future Mother-In-Law's Field

In general, cultivation of the future mother-in-law's field takes place on Friday; but it's also done on Thursday or Monday. When it is to be done tomorrow, it is announced today. The future son-in-law tells the head of the youth, and he tells the youths. The message is also given to the head of the maidens, and she tells all the maidens. The next morning, the drum-player plays, leading them to the mother-in-law's field. When they get there, they start to cultivate. The drum-player plays, the maidens sing. They give water to the cultivators. When they finish the field of the mother-in-law, they cultivate the fields of her neighbors. They also cultivate all the fields around hers. The future mother-in-law brings food and kola nuts. When they have eaten, they return to the village.

NOTE ON THE TEXT

The anthropological term for this kind of pre-marital arrangement is "suitor service." A prospective bridegroom must work for his fiancée's parents for a specified period of time before the marriage can take place. In the Soninke case, the suitor service is one day and it is done communally. This way everyone profits: the parents of the future bride profit, the neighbors of the bride's parents profit, the groom profits (because he does not have to perform a service alone) and all the youths profit, because they can call upon each other when their own marriages are imminent.

Soxan-Xaye

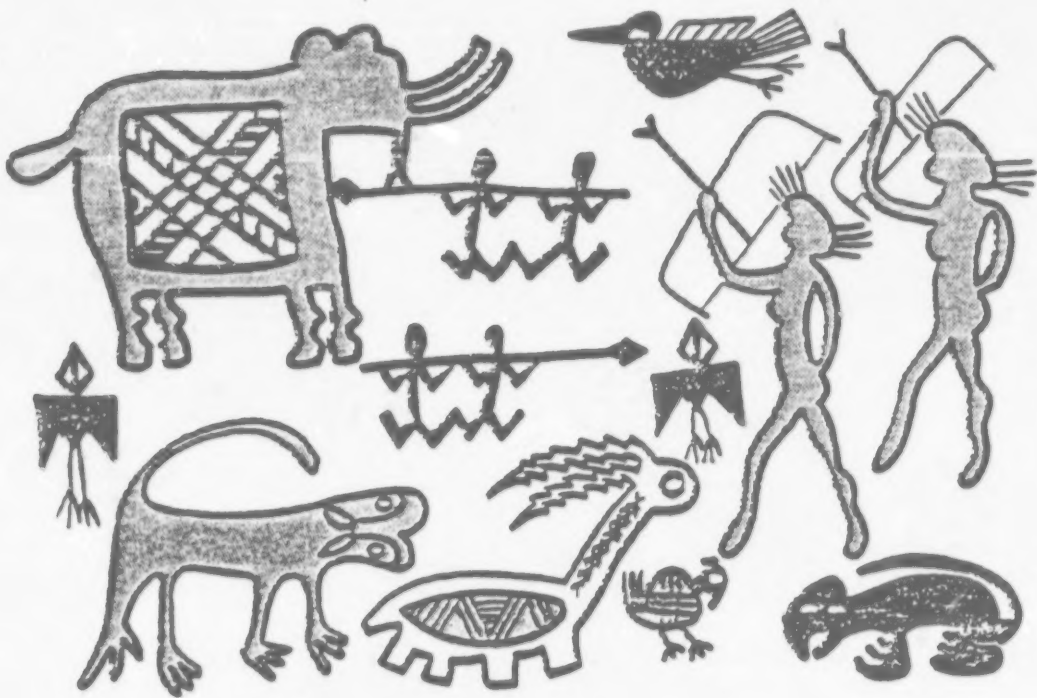
A gabe, soxan-xaye n nyana juma n koota ya; a wa nyana alaxamisa n xa, do tineeni. Soxan-xaye ga na nyi nyana xo sumbane, i n'a gansi lenki. Kallu-yugo n'a ko maxambano n xirise n da, a xa n'a ko maxambano n su da. Faare n n'a ko yaxannu n xirise n da, a xa n'a ko yaxannu n da. Yille n ga na kare, dan-timaana n na danne n timi, i na jambandi katti kallu-yaxare n te. I ga na joofe, i na soxe n jappa. Dan-timaana n wa danne n timmi, yaxannu n wa sugunu. I wa ji n kinni soxaano n ya. I ga na duguta kallo n te n na, sare be te n g'a kaara. I na fo sox'a yi, i na fone soxo te su g'a kaara n na. Kallu-yaxare n na yigande n do goro n riti. I ga, na yige, i na daga kani n na.

The Collective Hunt

The collective hunt takes place in the hot season, when there is no longer water in the bush. All the village gathers, gets rifles, sticks, swords, spears, axes and goes into the bush. A drum-player follows them. They go yodling toward the brush. Partridges, guinea-fowl, rabbits, wild cats, monkeys, jackals and deer run out of their refuges. People run after them with sticks, guns, and other hunting implements until they (the animals) are exhausted. They (the people) kill some of them with sticks; they kill some of them with guns; they kill some of them with axes; they capture some alive. Of the things that are caught, they give some to the drum-player and some to the hunting-camp guards.

Walle

Walle n nyana kineye n ya, ji ga ntaxa gunne n ɲa bire be. Debe n su na me kafu, na marafani n wutu, do gumo, do jaasini, do tammu, do yidu nan ro gunne n ɲa. Dundun-gume n wa d'i batte n ɲa. I wa luukene telle do gunne n ɲa. Sagaro n do kennu do kanjaanu do muusinu do funu, do boyinaaru, do siino, i na dire bakka sutte n ɲa. Sare n do gumo n, do marafani, do xanyefoni n na wuru d'i ya ma gundufoni ku ga na tampi. I n'i yogoni kari ti gumo n ɲa, n'i yogoni kari ti yidu n ɲa, i n'i yogoni biranto n raga. Fo be n da kite, i na fo kini dundun-timaana do daaxa-tangaano n ɲa.





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Photographs



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Photographs



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Photographs



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Photographs



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PART IV
AREAS OF PEACE CORPS INVOLVEMENT

Areas of Peace Corps Involvement - Health

Cleanliness is Better Than Gold

When we ask for blessings, we ask God to give us good health. People, if you don't follow the path, God will not give you health. The path to health is cleanliness. Sanitation and health is the enemy of dirt. There is a lot of dirt. It can be created by refuse, it can be created by flies or by lots of other things. Germs spread disease from one place to another. Flies and other insects which travel between human beings and their food carry dirt. They carry germs and leave them on the food. If you eat this, you get sick. We must fight against these enemies, which are refuse and flies and mosquitos. If you want to fight against a person, you must know his character, so that you will know how to catch him. This being the case, let us fight together against flies and refuse and mosquitos.

Flies

The body of the fly is divided into three parts: the head, the thorax and the abdomen.

The Head

If one looks at the fly's head with a microscope, one discovers two eyes and two antennae.

The thorax

The wings and the legs are attached to the thorax. How many wings are there? How many legs?

The abdomen

How many lines are there on the abdomen?

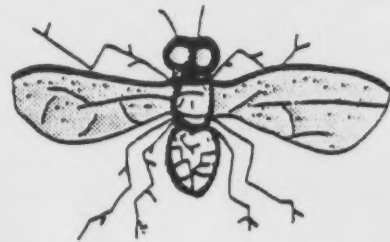
Take a microscope and examine one by one: the head, the eyes, the wings, the legs and the nose.

Laabantaaxu n nan fasu kanne n na

O ga nyi duwona, o na ti hari saha kin'o ya. Sare wo sare, an ga m'a kille n tara, Alla nta saha kinn'an na. Sahan-kille n ni laabantaaxu n ya. Saha n xa xose n ni mexe n ya. Mexe n nan gaba. A la wa nyana sobe yi; a wa nyana nyegeme yi, a do fobe gabe tana. Mexe n ni wattin-funse muxi-noqqu n ya. Siyannu n do fotanini be ga yiilene hadamaremmu n do yigefoni n naxa n na. I wa watti-funsu n wuttu n'i wara yigandu n na. Hadamaremmu n ga n'i yiga, i wa watini. Ke n ku o n'o xonno n gaja. Ku n ga ni nyegemo n do sobe n do siyanngu n na. Xa, an ga na nyi saren-gajaana, an n'a tu ya fina, an n'a jikku n tu, n'a rage-moxo n tu. Ke n ku, o n kafi na nyegemo n gaja, na sobe n gaja, na siyanngu n gaja.

Siyanne

Siyanne fate taxandini ni sikko ya yi:
Yinkole, sege, a do noxo.



Yinkole

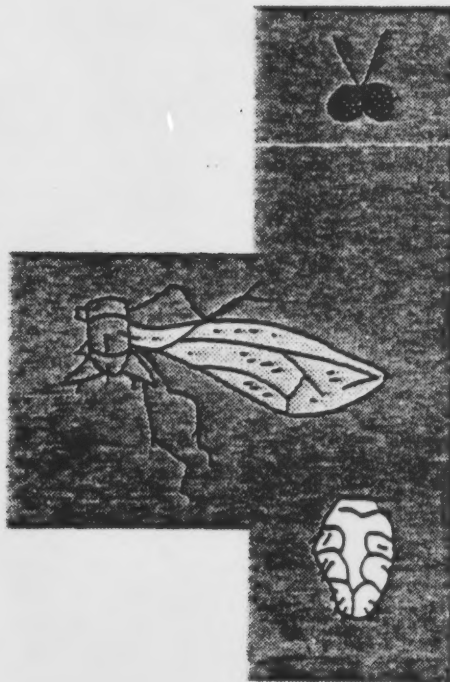
Siyanne yinkole faayi ti labo-yaaxe n na. An w'a yaaxe funsu filli warini a do bunu filli.

Sege

Kampo do tanu sapinte n na do sege n na. Kampo ni maninime yi? Tanu ni mani nime yi?

Noxo

Killu maninime yi noxo n na?

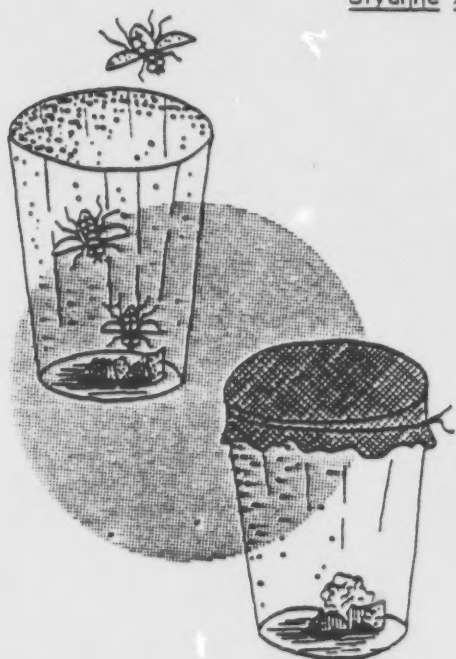


Labo-yaaxe wutu, an na ku faayi baane baane: laqqe, yaaxafunse, kampe, ta, nuxun-xure.

Raising Flies (How Flies Grow)

1. Take an empty jar. Put some fresh meat inside. Then put it in the sun. Flies will lay eggs on the meat.
2. Put some damp cotton in the jar. Close the jar with a mosquito-net cloth and continue to put drops of water on the cotton so that it doesn't become dry.
3. After three days, you will discover maggots on the meat. Later these maggots will cease to move. Their skin will harden on their bodies.
4. After eight days, the egg-cases will open and flies will come out and fly away.

Siyanne Xooro Moxo

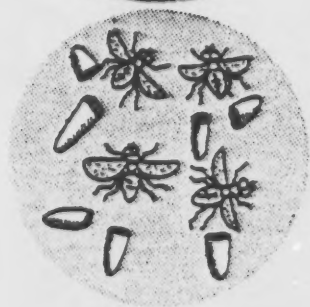


1. Buwati duuro yogo wutu. Tiye xaye ro noxo n na. A wara kiiye n na. Siyanngu ni yellu saxundini tiye kamma.

2. Kotolijuura sahinte n wara buwati noxo n na. Buwati laqge texe ti sanke-bagi n na. Taaxo na ji n toli kotole n kamma barisa a maxa kaawa ya.



3. Bitto sikki ga na dangi, an wa xuudo n walli tiye n na. Waxati yogo wa kinyene, xuudonu ku taaxa du yonkono. I booto n wa nyana fate n na, i kamma.



4. Bitto segu falle, fate ke laqge wa wuyini, siyanne n wa bakka u noxo n na nan kampi.

REFUSE

Refuse is:

Things swept up (from the interior of the house, from the courtyard and from the exterior of the house).

- the garbage of the kitchen
- grasses and the leaves of trees
- animal excrement
- old utensils and cloths, rags etc.

Bad Things About Refuse Places.

They are:

- places where flies land and lay eggs.
(Flies are the cause of diseases and ill-health.)
- places where rats and mice go
- places where domesticated animals go.

When you sweep up trash, you ought to put it in a single place and throw it away quickly.

Furthermore, other things which are being thrown away (papers, old rags, the skins of fruit) ought not to be discarded on the ground. Collect them all into one place. This will make sweeping easier.

There are two ways to get rid of trash

- some can be burned (like plastic)
- some can be buried (tin cans, pieces of metal). You dig a hole for them. The rest you can make into compost for the garden.

How to Make a Compost Pile

- Dig a hole far away from sources of drinking water
- After you have removed bottles, cans and pieces of metal from your trash, spread the rest in a hole.
- When it is spread out in the hole, put earth on top of it.
- Make layers of earth and trash until the hole is well filled.
- Pour some water on the trash and close up the hole with more earth.



Nyegemo

nyegemo n ni:

- sellandi nyegeme (kompo n xallu, ka n xallu a do sella xallu.
- sore-nyegeme
- sokku n do yitti-daru
- naburu n xuro
- yokku xaso n do yiran-xaso



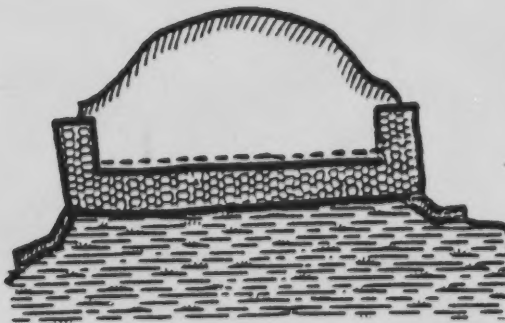
nyegemo n tonyande

- time bure
- siyanu taaxu-noqqu
- nyilinyo n digirimmu n daga-ra

An ga na nyegemo n sella, an n'i ro noqqu baane yi, an n'a dag'i sedi jawoye yi. Ke n falle, nyegemo ku be ga sedi, i ma xawa nan ro saro n tani n wure.

nyegemo n sedi-moxo

- yononi wa nyegeme ke bini
- yogoni wa rono nyilinye n wure (buteli, kettu n do mexe xaso, ku n wa rono du ra n noqqu)
- kutte n wa nyana jabande tenu n na



Mexe N Ro Moxo Te n na

- an na kumme n jaaba, n'a laatondi ji-wuti noqqu n na.
- an na buteli, kettu n do mexe xaso bag'a yi, n'a kutte n ro kumme n na na'a sanqi.
- an ga na mexe ke sanqi, an na doore yogo n'a kamma
- doore n do mexe n wa jokko-jokko me yi ma kumme n ga na fagu
- an na ji n funfu a kammu

Excrement

Excrement comes from people and animals.

The effects of excrement

Excrement soils the earth, the water and food. It attracts flies, insects, rats and other animals to the house. These can cause and spread many diseases.

How to get rid of it.

There are two ways to throw it away:

- Put it into a hole and cover it up
- If there are many people in a house, dig a latrine which should be far away from wells and river banks, and at least 16 meters from water.

How to Build a Latrine

- The hole of a latrine should be covered to keep rain from getting into it.
- You build a wall for enclosing the hole and then you cover it with a roof.
- The hole also ought to be covered to prevent flies from laying eggs in the interior of it and to keep them from travelling between the excrement and your food.

Cleaning a Latrine

- In the compound, everyone ought to contribute toward the cleanliness of the latrine and its maintenance.
- Clean the latrine each time you use it.
- Before leaving, close the hold.
- Do not leave refuse around the latrine and do not throw trash into it.
- This will prevent flies and other insects.

The Advantages of a Latrine

- Building a latrine is easy.
- It is near where people live.
- It helps prevent the spread of diseases.

Xuro N Ro Noqqu

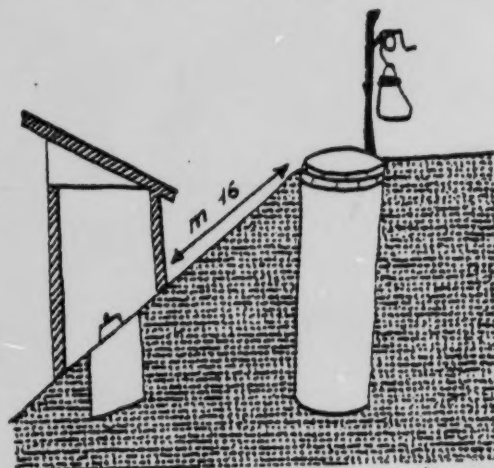
Xurura dagaye

- Xuro bakka sare n do nabure ya yi.
- Sare toorande.

Xuru na nyiinye do ji do yeqqu mexendini. I na siyanngu do fo-misannu do gajannu do kadun-naburu n ya n xilli. Ku n su sababu ya ni waate-funse n ga taxandi.

Sedi moxoni filli ya ni a yi

- an na xuro n ro kimme n noxo n'a bulu.
- gelli jama n ya ga ni, an na sutura n jaaba, n'a laatondi bakka ji-wuti-noqqu ni n na ti meterini 16.

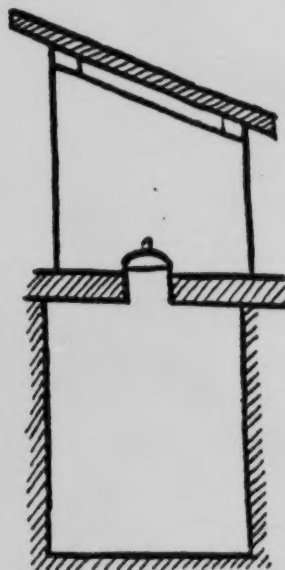


Sutura N Dabari Moxo

- sutura n kumme n bilini ya, kamme n nan maxa n'a noxo n na.
- na tageye n nya n'a fananfana
- suturan-kumme n nan xawa texene ya, ke n ya ni siyanngu nta rono nan bagu nan ro yigandu n na.

Sutura N Tange Moxo

- kan saro n su nan xawa sutura n tangana.
- na sutura n noxo laabandi waxati n su.
- saad'an ga bakka sutura n na, an na kumme n texe.
- xa maxa nyegeme ro sutura n kaara n na. Ke n wa tangana fuunyu n na, a do siyanngu.



Sutura N Nafa

- Sutura n dabariye n neye n ya ni
- A noqqu n tinke n ya ni saro n na.
- A wa sikki watti-funse nta sangini.

Cleanliness Is Better Than Gold

How Disease Spreads

Disease spreads from a sick person to a healthy person.

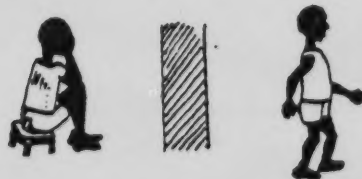
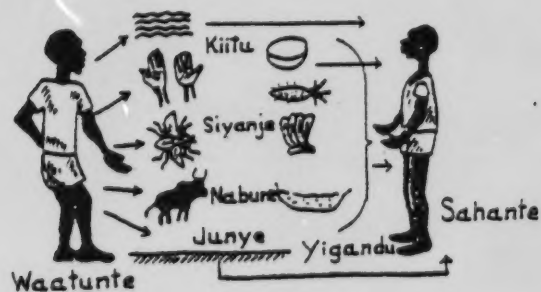
How contagion is spread

- if people touch each other often.
- sickness spreads from a sick person to a healthy one.



Advice

- A sick person and a healthy one ought not to come into contact.



Watte-funsu taxandi moxo.

Watte funsu wa sakka wattunto n na, nan daga sahanto n na.

Taxandi moxo

--saro n ga na tiiso me ya.

--fo ga na watte-funsu wutu waatunte
n na na sahante n na.

Kisinde

--Wattunte do sahante na maxa
tiiso me ya.

Cleanliness Is Better Than Gold

Prevention Is Better Than Cure

If one is said to be a good person, that is because he is healthy. This is why when the rainy season approaches, you ought to take one capsule or tablet of Nivaquinne each day for a month. After that, one is protected during the rainy season. Preventing an illness is easier than curing one.

These kinds of information augment your well-being. What this means is that a literacy center ought to be built in your village. Women, men, youths and old people ought to come out to make bricks for one. This is what gives the best quality to education.

Haqqile N Toxo Nyi Me Yi Wure Sire Ya Ni

An ga da muugu t'an me
fare kinyandaana nta n
na, an sahante nya ni.
Ke n ya ni sa, xaaxo n
ga na ri, sare nan xawa
na nivikini funse baane
wutu koota wo koota, ma
xaso baane ga na kaara.
Ke n ga na ya, an wa
kisini samama n na xaaso
n na. Watte n tangande
na faasu a jarande n na.



Xaranne nya ma kitande
xoorondini. Ke n bire n
na, xaran-kompe golle ni
debe n su haaju n nya
yi. Yugo, yaxare,
lemine, sare xaso, i su
kafumente n wa bakka na
doore kattu, na xaran-
kompe taga. Ke n ya no
yonki gillondini.



Artificial Respiration

(Let's all help the doctor.)

Sometimes a person becomes unconscious and he can't breathe because he has something stuck in his throat, or because he has swallowed his tongue or because he has drowned and his insides are full of water, or because he has received a blow to the head or chest. All these things cause unconsciousness. If we don't help this person right away, he will certainly die. How can we help?

You open his mouth to see if anything is in it. If he has swallowed his tongue, pull it forward into its normal position.

Put him on his back, and pull his chin forward to extend his neck.

You hold his nose and place your mouth over his mouth and blow forcefully into it. If you do this correctly, his chest will raise. Let this air come out of his mouth naturally. Repeat the procedure until he starts breathing. If you do this, you will have prevented a death.

There are lots of ways like this to keep a human being from dying.

O na dogotorini n deema

Bire, sare n wa bittene, a la nta negunu bawo fo yogo bal'a xore n na, m'a d'i neene n toni, ma x'a yoole n'a noxo n faga ji n na, ma xad'i d'a katu yimme n na, ma gi jimme n na. Ke n su la wa sare xitindini. O ga m'a deema non-do-non, a kalla ya. An katt'a deemana kan moxo?

An n'a laqge n wunyi n'a faayi fumbe g'a noxo n na. Gell'a ga d'i neene ny'a toni, an n'a fuutu n'a sag'i moxo n na.

An n'a singindi, n'a sinqe n wure wutu n'a xanne n fuutu.

An n'a nuxunne n raga, n'a lagge n wunyi n'an laqge n ro a laqge n noxo n na n'an fuute t'an sembe n na. An ga na ke n t'i moxo n na, a gijimme n gilli. An n'a wa ke n fanke nan bagu. A na yille yi xadi m'a ga na negu. A ga na giri, an d'a sikki kalle n na.

Ke n me moxo gabe wa du, fumbe la ga hadamaremmu n kisini kalle n na.

Health

Dehydration

When a child has diahrea and he vomits, he gets weak because there is no longer much water in his body. This is not good. The child can die. They call this "deshydratation" in French. Its signs are:

1. The child doesn't urinate. If he does, his urine is dark yellow.
2. He gets very weak.
3. His mouth gets dry.
4. His eyes become sunken.
5. He cries but there are no tears.
6. His fontanelle sinks in.
7. If you take his skin and pull it and then let it go, it does not go back to normal.

When a child gets diahrea, give him lots to drink: water, tea, porridge, broth.

Here is a good drink to make and give to a child at this time:

Take a liter of water, boil it. When it's cool, put 2 large spoons of sugar or honey and a half a teaspoon of salt together. Mix it. Give it a little at a time with a small glass very frequently. If you follow this advice, the damage might be lessened.

Deshydration

Lemine n noxo n ga na wuru, a d'a ga ficcene, a wa xumana, bawo ji gabe ntax'a fate n na. Ke n ma siro. A la wa lemine n karini. I wa ke n ya xilli tubaabin-xanne n na "deshydration." A tagumansu n faayi:

1. Lemine nta buusini. Hari a ga na buusi, a buusi n dumbunu ya.
2. A wa xumana buru.
3. A laqqe n wa kaawana.
4. A yaaxo n wa rono.
5. A wa wunu, xa yaaxan-ji nta bakka.
6. A "nunan" wa yanqana.
7. An ga n'a fate n raga n'a fuutu n'a wara, a nta sagen'i moxo n na.

Gelli nuxudu n wure n ga na lemine n raga, an na minifo gabe kin'a yi: ji, hattaaye, sombi, tiyi-ji ma nyexe-ji.

Minifo sire faayi, xa la ga dabarini n'a kini lemunu n na ke n waxati ya.

Xa na litara baane ji wutu, n'a towondi. A ga na mulo dimma be, xa na sukara n kuduxooro filli ma yaagi n kuduxooro filli n'a yi. Xa sappi kudunren-taxande kaf'a yi n'a yonko. Xa na toxo a fonne fonne kinn'a yi ti kaasin-remme yi bire su. Xa ga na ke n topoto, Alla wa bonondi de n roxondini.

Health

Malaria

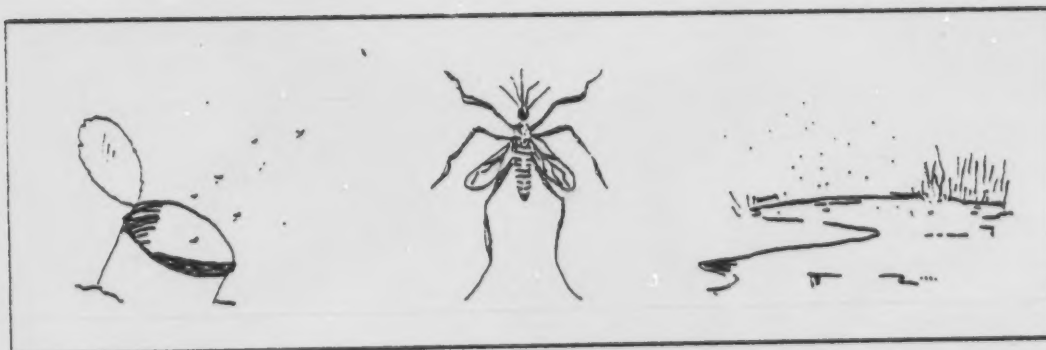
This disease is gotten from mosquitos. When a mosquito sucks the blood of a sick person he gives some of this to another person. This other person gets the disease. One can't drive away this disease without fighting against mosquitos.

Don't leave stagnant water around your house and compound. Tip over old calabashes and canaris. Sleep under a mosquito net. Give one Nivaquinne tablet to your children every day. If you suspect that you have the disease, go to a dispensary.

Kawule n xaji

Ke xaje kitene sirimu n ya. Sirimu n ga na xajinte n fare n sugu, i wa telle ke n fare yogo kini sare tana yi. Ke n xa na xaje n kita. O la nta ke watte xatana m'o ga na sirimu n gaja.

O nan maxa ji taaxunto n toxo ka n noxo n d'a karo n na. O na xolla-xaso n do lalli-xaso n b'findi. O nan saxu sanke n wuru. O na nivakini baane kini lemunu n na koota su. Gell'o ga na sikka du yi, o na daga do dogotorinka n na.



Schistosomiasis

The World Health Organization estimates that between 200-300 million people in the world have schistosomiasis. This disease is endemic in Mali and a high percentage of the population have it.

The schistosome is a type of worm (a trematode) and it is transmitted through an intermediate host, the snail. The individual with schistosomiasis passes eggs when he urinates or defecates. In fresh water a larve (miracidium) emerges from each of the viable eggs. The ciliated miracidia swim about until they find and penetrate an appropriate snail host. There they undergo further development and multiply giving rise in due course to large numbers of infective larva called cercariae. The cercariae are emitted by the infected snail. They swim by means of a forked tail, until they find the skin surface of man. They attach themselves, shed their tails and penetrate. The cycle begins again.

Why Be Concerned?

It is true that often a high proportion of the native population may be infected without complaining of symptoms or showing signs of infection. Nevertheless, because of the longevity (20 YEARS) of the worms and their considerable egg production throughout this period the cumulative damage can be very great. The lesions which may result may become malignant (cancerous). In one type of schistosomiasis not only the bladder but the ureters may be involved and in women the pelvic organs are also affected. Malignant changes are apt to occur in the bladder and the individual may die after years of increasing suffering.

In the intestinal variety, damage occurs in the wall of the large bowel. Later one can have fibrosis of the liver, enlargement of the spleen and, as a result of back pressure, one may have varicosity of the veins in the esophagus and stomach. These veins may rupture and can cause serious and sometimes fatal hematemesis (vomiting of blood). Treatment available for this disease is NOT 100% effective, so people do die of schistosomiasis IN SPITE OF TREATMENT. Doesn't it make sense to prevent exposure to eliminate the risks involved?

Prevention

To avoid contracting any form of schistosomiasis all that is necessary is to avoid all contact with water containing cercariae discharged by infected snails. Infection of the snails in the water is prevented by stopping urinary and fecal pollution of the water. At present this is impossible in Mali. All natural water therefore must be regarded as suspect. According to a textbook on tropical medicine, NOBODY should be allowed to paddle, bathe or EVEN WET THEIR HANDS in it. Storage of water for 3-4 days will ensure the death of the infecting larvae. Boiling it or chlorinating it will do the same, and this should be routine before using suspect water for washing or for drinking.

Symptoms

The most frequent symptoms of schistosomiasis here are bloody urine, fever, pain in the abdomen, general malaise, and difficulty with urination.

Schistosomiasis

Diagnosis

- Urine: The eggs can usually be found microscopically in the urine.
- Biopsy: A biopsy through a proctoscope of a fragment of rectal mucosa will yield eggs in most cases of infection. They may be found even when none can be found in the urine.
- Serum: A complement-fixation test of the patient's serum is usually positive within a month of the first month of infection. It is not "species specific" however.
- Skin: Intradermal skin tests are used. However, their interpretation is difficult and the result is not used as the sole means of making a diagnosis.
- Blood: During early invasion and toxic stages, changes are usually present in the differential. There generally is an elevated eosinophil count. In later stages this can be absent.
- Cystoscopy: This exam will usually reveal lesions at the base of the bladder. Material obtained from the lesions yield living or dead and calcified eggs, and sometimes parasites.

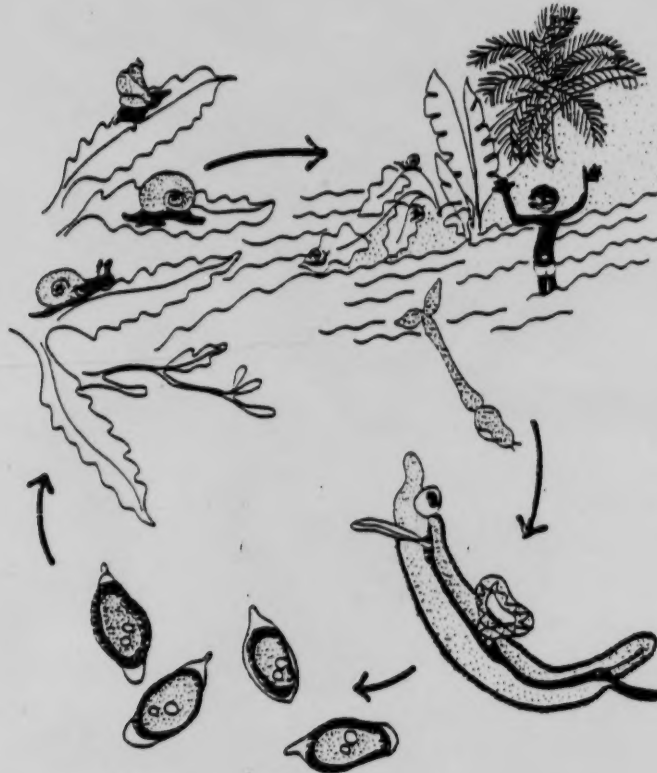
Treatment

Two drugs are commonly used: Niridazole (Ambilhar) and Stibocaptate (Astiban). Ambilhar is used against *S. Hematobium*. Both medications are toxic and must be given under careful supervision. No treatment is 100% effective.

THE ONLY RATIONAL APPROACH IS PREVENTION! THIS IS UP TO EACH VOLUNTEER!

PREVENTION

1. Don't bathe or swim in fresh water streams, canals, etc.
2. Let water taken from streams stand 48 hours before using.



1. Snails -- the intermediate host of Schistosomiasis eggs hatch in water and free swimming larvae penetrate the snail.
2. Infective Parasite -- the cercariae, a free living larvae, is released from the snail and either enters a human host or dies in 48 hours.
3. Adult Schistosoma worms -- male and female worms lodge in the blood vessels near the bladder. The worms mate and eggs are produced.
4. Eggs -- pass out through the urine into fresh water where they hatch, and enter the snail, the cycle begins again.

Schistosomiasis

Schistosomiasis is a terrible disease. It affects the child and the adult as well. Schistosomiasis is contracted in water. It comes from snails that lay their eggs in the water. Little worms are in these eggs. These worms enter the human body through the skin and gravitate toward the bladder. You have contracted schistosomiasis when the worms attain your bladder and reproduce there. They also lay eggs which come out when you urinate into water, and they hatch these eggs there. The flukes (worm eggs) that hatch out migrate back toward the snails again. When other people wash in this water they also get this disease. This is the one way they get it.

How do people keep themselves from getting schistosomiasis?

- Children should not urinate in water (streams, pools, rivers).
- Kill all the snails.
- If you take water from places where snails are, let it stand for two days to kill all the snails.

Togomaanu

Togomaanu n ni watti bure ya. A wa lemine n do xirise n su ragana. Togomaanu n wa kitene ji n na. Tamboxodaanu n ya n xabaanunu ji n na. Xuudu miso wa xabaanu ku noxo n na. Ku n xuudu ya n rono saro fate n na, nan yanqa ma xene n na. Togomaanu n na xusi an raga xuudu ku be ga an xene n na. I xa wa xabaanu ku wa bakka do buusi n na nan kare. Xuudu be ga bakka ku n xabaanu ya, ku n wa yillene katti tamboxodaanu n na xadi. Saro tana ga na wanqi ji ke yi, i xa na watte ke kita. Ke n moxo baane yi.

Saro n katta du tangana togomaanu n na kan moxo?

--Lemuru n nan maxa buusi ji n na.

--Na tamboxodaanu n su kari.

--An ga na ni wutu, tamboodaani n noqqu n na, an n'a taxundi bito filli me, xuudu n kara.

Vaccination

What is vaccination?

You're used to hearing about vaccination.

You have had a vaccination yourself.

Consequently, you know what vaccination is all about.

Most diseases are "communicated" to healthy people through sick people, other people would be contaminated through them. These diseases spread like that. They call them contagious diseases. Most of these diseases are dangerous; they can be the cause of death of old and young people.

When one of these diseases attacks you, you would look for the hospital; you would get cured and become healthy.

But you should be prepared so you would not get infected by those diseases; that is a safe way. So do not sit passively until you and your sons are infected by the disease to search for remedies. In contemporary times like today, the doctors have discovered an easy way to prevent people from many infections. That device is vaccination. Anybody who is not vaccinated, (young or old), is easily susceptible to infection, as he exchanges things with the diseased, such as: water scoop, clothes, food, or being in the same room or the same house (compound).

That is how all the germs have their ways of spreading.

But for the one who is vaccinated, he can mingle with diseased, to help him, to cure him, without being infected.

Why is that? Because, once vaccinated, the skin can fight the germ and protect itself for one or two year's time.

The terms are so small one cannot see them with the "naked" eye. But they produce disease.

When one is vaccinated, one's life is saved from disease.

So while you are healthy, agree to be vaccinated.

Kitti-boxeyu

Kitti-boxeye n ni manne yi?

Xa domi na kitti-boxeye n xibare n mugu.

Xa yimme kitte n boxe sa.

Ken bire n ɓa xa wa kitti-boxeye n maana n tu ba?

Watti gebe wa "sahanto" kitana do watunto n ya. Sorotara n'i kita do kun ɓa-kun wattu wa sangini kundu n ya. I ni kun ya xilli watti-jambanto.

Kun wattu gabe bure n yani. I la wa nyana xirisin-kalle n do leminan-kalle n sababu n ɓa.

Wattu ku banambe gana an raga, an wa jaare noqqu sagatana nan jaare, nan saha.

Xa, an n'an moxo sirondi watte n nan max'an raga, ken yan fasu. Ken dimma, maxa taaxu ma watte n gan'an d'an lemmun raga, nan giri ken falle ti jaareye n ɓa. O ga koota be yi xo lenki, dogotorini n da feera neye kita na saro n kisi watti gabe yi. Ken feera ni kitti-boxeye n ya.

Sare be kitte n ga ma boxe, lemine ma xirise, a nan jawu nan watte n kita, n'a toxo a do watunte n wa yokkun faxaxunu: xoyi jiranxolle, yiraamu, yigefo; ma xa i wa kompobanne yi ma ka baane.

Ken moxon gabe n yani bawo watte su d'i jambe moxo ya ni.

Xa sare be kitten boxonte gana nyi, a do watunte n la wa rono me yi, n'a deema, n'a jaara, watte nt'a ragana.

Ken maana? Bawo kitti-boxe yitte ke gana ra yi, fatanxotte n lawa watten funse n gajana na du tanga sina baane ma sino filli noxo n ɓa.

Wattifunsu ku nan roxo; sare la nta i walla t' i yaaxo n ɓa. Xa watte n gilli i ya.

Save n kitte n gana boxe, a yonkin wa kisini watte n ɓa.

Ken bire sa, na xa sahanen toxo xa duɓe, xa kitte n nan boxe.

Vaccination

The Kinds of Vaccinations

Since there are many kinds of infections, there are also many kinds of vaccinations.

All the people in a country, be they children, be they grown-ups, men and women, all should be vaccinated to keep them from the spread of disease.

There is no discrimination between grown-ups and children when it comes to vaccination. The grown-up who is not vaccinated should "up and go" to the hospital to be vaccinated before the spreading of disease.

What is best of all is to vaccinate the child in the first month after his birth. A new-born child does not have much resistance; his life is weak. You must help save him. Do your best so he can receive the different sorts of vaccinations before he is 18 months.

Here are the major meanings of vaccination: the infection that they prevent, and how long they last the first time.

1. The vaccination against tuberculosis is done the first week after the child's birth.

2. The vaccination against smallpox is done before the child is nine months.

3. The vaccination against epilepsy and paralysis is made before the child is 18 months.

Kitti-boxeyi dantanto

Woyivi watte n nan gaba, kitti-boxeye n xa xabila n gabe n yani.

Jamaane n saren su, an nya lemine yi wo, an nya xirise yi wo, yugo n do yaxare, i su kitte n nan xawa nan boxe, n'i tanga wattijambanto n na.

Sirisaxu do leminaxu nta kitti-boxeye n na. Xirise be kitte n gama boxe, an nan giri na kitti-boxe noggu sagata i nan kitte n boxo wattidantanto kaane.

Funbe ken me gafe, ken ni na lemine kitte n boxo gell' a saare xasu fano n na.

Lendumbe nta fofa bakka, a yonki nan roxo. Xa d'a deema a nan kisi. Xa do duruxoto kitti boxeyi dantanto nan nya a yi katti a ga xasu 18 kitta.

Kitti-boxeyi-xooxon fayi: i ga gemme wattu be yi ad' i nyañi bire ta fana n na.

1. Kitti-boxeye be ga gemme texuyixooze na. Ken wa nyana remme sareye n koyi fana.

2. Badaane kitti-boxeye. Ken wa nyana sado lemine n ga xasu tumi kitta.

3. Kitti-boxeye be ga gemme toxone n do muru xuye n na. Ken wa nyana sado lemine n ga xasu tammi do segu kitana.

4. Kitti-boxeye be gagemme mesene n na. Ken wa nyana saolo lemine n ga siino filli kitta.

Kitiboxeyi gabe tan'a wa non na. Xa gana kinye dogotorin ka su ya, xa la wa fatanfansiye kitta i kamma.

Vaccination

Vaccination Against Tuberculosis

Vaccination is done the first week of child's birth.

It prevents a person from lung disease which is tuberculosis.

You have already seen people infected with tuberculosis: they are tired, they don't eat because they are not hungry, they always have fever, they cough and spit blood; if they are not well cured, only death can free them.

When they are coughing, they give their disease to other people, or when they spit, or even as they breathe, because the germ of the disease is in the air. We all can be infected if we do not guard ourselves.

That is why everybody should be vaccinated against tuberculosis.

But the most important is to vaccinate the new-born child when he is one week old, since he is weak.

Before the tuberculosis, how does a vaccination take place?

The doctor makes an incision in your arm, and puts vaccine there. After that, you should not scratch your arm. When you have a bloody wound, do not worry, put a clean piece of cloth on it.

After two months, you will go back to the hospital; they will see if it went all right. If they find that it did not work, they would do it again.

Texuyi xooore n kaane kitti-boxeye

Ken kitti-boxeye wanyana rendumbe koyi-fana.

A wa sare rangana furutu n watte nya, ken gani texuyi xooore n na.

Xa domi na texuyi-xooru gumu n wari: i tampinto n ni, i nta yigene bawo dulle nt'i ya, i do xaje yani bire bire su; i wa texunu, na fore n tufa, igama jaare moxo siri, fofu nt'i da kalle n gafe.

I gana nyi texunu i wa watte ke kinni saro fanani ya, ma i gana xaaxi, ma hari i yonkinto bawo watte ke funce n wa do fanke n na. Wa watte la wa o su ragana o gama du tanga.

Ken yani a gan xawa beesu kitte n nan boxe texuyi-xooore n kaane.

Xa, fumbe gan xoto, ken ni na rendumbe kitte n boxo a koyi fana n na, a ken be yonki n gan xoxo.

Texuyi-xooore n kaane kitti-boxeye n nyana kan moxo?

Jarandaana n wa an kitte n botono, na yitti ji n ro a yi. Ken gana nya, maxa tugo n kaga. Tugo n gana dumbu, maxa jooti; an na yiron labante ro a lage n na.

Xasu filli gana dangi, an wa yillene katti kitti-boxe ra n na, i n'a fayi m'a siro; i gan'a nyi a ma fo siro, i wa sagene yi.

Vaccination

Vaccination Against Smallpox

The vaccination against this is done before the child is six months old.

You have heard of smallpox. It is a bad disease. It easily spreads around. It gives one a bad fever, and it develops bumps all over one's face and body, and fills the bumps with puss. Then the bumps become wounds. Most of the time, the infection overcomes the diseased and kills him. Because of that, everybody should get their arms vaccinated against smallpox from time to time.

The baby can have his vaccinations as soon as his sixth month. But, in those countries where there is smallpox, the child should have his vaccination even before he is six months old. You should fetch the doctors so they can advise you.

Everybody should have his vaccinations every three years.

How do we do the vaccination to prevent smallpox?

The doctor makes an incision on your arm with a knife, and he will put in the vaccine against smallpox. After two or three days, your arm heats up and there will be an inflammation. You can also have a fever. But after that, everything will be all right.

If the vaccination works, there would be a scar left on your arm.

But do not scratch the wound. If it carries puss (or water), you should put a clean cloth on it.

After that, if it does not leave a scar on your skin, it has not served a purpose. It must be done again. Whatever happens, you would go back to the hospital and do the vaccination again to see if it has succeeded or not.

There is another way of vaccinating; if you go to the hospital, they would tell you that.

Badaane n kitti-boxeye

Ken kitti boxeye wa nyana sado remme n ga xasu tumu kitta.

Xa da badaane n xibare n mugu. Watti bure yani. A jambeye n nan jawu siri.

A wa an xajindini, na an yaaxo n d' an fate n su nya buje yi na motte n ro i ya, n'i nya tugu yi. A nan gab'a yi, watti ke nta toŋono i kama n ŋa. Ken bire an xawa beesu n' i kitte n boxo badaane n kaane waxati o waxati.

Remme n kitte n la wa boxene gell'a xasu tumunde. Xa badaane n ga jamanu be yi, wajibi n yani remme n nan boxe sad' a ga xasu tumi kitta: xa da dogotorini n sagata i na xa wara kille yi.

An xawa beesu kitte n nan boxe siino sikki su.

Bandaane n kaane kitti-boxeyen nyana kan moxo?

Kitti boxaana n w'an kitti n xuli n karana ti labo n ŋa na badaane n yitte n ro a yi bito filli ma sikko gana dangi, an kitte n wa rawono, nan yiti-tawoye n xa la wa anragana; xa ken falle, basi su ntaxa a yi. Gelli boxeye n ga siro, tugu batte n wa togo an fate n ŋa.

Xa maxa tugo n kaga. A gana ji n wutu, xa na yiran labante ro a lage n ŋa.

A gana kundu yi, a batte gama toxo an fate n ŋa, a ma fi siro. Ma sageye gana ny'a yi.

A ga nya na moxo o moxo, an wa sagene kitti-boxe nogu n ŋa, na boxeye ke jaabi n tu. Gelli a ga siro ma a gama siro.

Kitti-boxe moxo tana wa du; xa gana daga dogotori n ka n ŋa, i n'a moxo ko xa da.

Vaccination

The Vaccination That Prevents Four Different Types of Infection

This is done before the child is 18 months old. But it can be done before or after that. That one vaccine prevents four different infections: laryngitis, cough, toxone, paralysis.

How does it work?

Its injection is done once a month until three months are completed. One year after the third injection, a fourth injection is done. Three years after that, another injection is done. If another injection is done after all that, the doctor may be able to explain the reason for that.

Laryngitis: That infection begins inside the throat. When it gets worse, one cannot even swallow one's saliva; it can cause damage.

Tetanus: (some people call it the bird). It is a grave infection. It is gotten when one is wounded, or when something dirty cuts or pricks one: a knife, a nail, a glass fragment, an old piece of iron. The infected subject gets a fever, he gets stiff, he trembles, he ends by dying. Everybody should be vaccinated against this disease.

Coughing: The coughing affects many children. It can worsen very much. It makes the child vomit. The child coughs until he becomes stiff.

You should give injections to children so they can be saved from this disease.

Paralysis: Paralysis gives fever to the child. After that, he becomes paralytic, his body becomes slowed down. It ends up in death.

Even if it is cured on time, it still can paralyze the legs of the child and make him paralytic.

You should keep your children from this disease, with the help of the injection that prevents four different types of disease. Wake up early and vaccinate your children.

Kitti-boxeye be ga gemme wattu naxati ya

Ken wa nyana sado lemine nga xasu tammi do. Segu kitta-xa a la wa nyana ken kaane maafalle. Ke yitti baane wa gemme wattu naxati ya: xore, kawaye, toxone ado muruxu.

A wa nyana kan moxo?

A pingu baane yan nyana xaso o xaso ma xasu sikki gan timme-pingu sikande n gana sina baane kita, pingundi baane tana wa nyana ken xa gana dangi ti siino-sikki, baane tana wa nyana. Gelli pingu tana ga nyana ken falle, dogotoro n na ken moxo n ko xa da.

Xore: ken watte wa joppene xore n noxo n ya. A gana buro, an la nta hari an xoronji n tonno bire, a la wa bonondindini. (dissin p.13).

Kawaye: (yogoni w'a xilli yeline) Watti bure yani. A wa kitene an gana joogi ma fo mexente gana an kutu ma nari sufa: labo, ponti, worondon kette, mexe xase-xajinte n fate n wa tawono, a wa kawana, a wa singirini, a legeru n ni kalle n ya. Beesu n xawa n'i kitte n boxo ke watte kaane.

Toxone: Toxone n wa leminan gabe ragana. A lawa burono siri. A wa ficceye n walla lemine n na. Lemine n wa texunu ma a ga kawa. Xa da xa remmu n pingu m'i na kisi ke watte yi.

Muruxu: Muruxu n wa tawoye n walla lemine n na; ken falle, a wa muruxunu, n'a fate n lampundi. A lagaru, a la wanyana kalle n na. Hari a gana jaare fene, a la walemine n tani karini n'a nya muruxunte yi.

Xa da xa remmu n kisi ke watte yi n' a sababun n nya wattu naxati kaane pingu n na. Xa giri fene na xa remmu n kitte n boxo.

Vaccination

Vaccination Against Measles

It is done before the child is one year old. You all know measles. It spreads around notoriously.

It first starts by inflicting a fever on the child. The child cries and his nose runs and his lips get inflated.

After that, his eyebrows and his skin get covered with spots and then spots appear.

After that, the spots shrink and the skin falls off.

Many children still die today because of the lack of cure.

The child can be vaccinated on his nine month's birthday. In some countries, the child can be vaccinated way before that time, because the child can be infected before the nine month time.

Whatever is the case, try your best to get your children vaccinated against the measles.

How do we do the measles vaccination? The vaccination is done on the left hand with a type of gun. It leaves a little wound on the arm. The day of the vaccination should be marked so it can be proven that the child has had it.

Other Kinds of Vaccination

There are certain places where bad water has settled. There are many bad infections in such places such as diarrhea and other such things.

Vaccination against these infections is compulsory. When you are going to another country, you should inquire about those vaccinations, so that you may be let in those countries.

Vaccination is compulsory when you are going to another country.

Meseene n kaane kitti-boxeye

A wa nyana sado lemine n ga sina baane kitta. Xa su wa meseene n tu. Watti jambanta bure yani.

A wa jonana na lemine n xajindi. A yaxanji n d'a nuxunji n wabakka. Bire, a soomo n wa yitini.

Ken falle, a yeso n d'a fate n wa tabadini nan puju.

Ken falle, fate n wa nyurini nan giri. Ken ni korome n ya, a ga gilli.

Leminan gabe wa kalla hari lenki, n'a maana n nya jaareyinbala xu n na.

Lemine n kitte n la wa boxene a xasu kabunden na. Jamaanu yogoni ya, kitti-boxeye ke la wa ken samana siri bawo watte ke la wa lemunu n ragana sado i xasu kabunde n ga timmene kun jamaanu yi.

A ga na nya moxo o moxo, xa da feera nya, xa remmu kitte n nan boxe, n'i tanga meseene n na.

Meseene n kitti-boxeye n nyana kan moxo? Kitti-boxeye ke wa nyana noge n ya ti marafa n ren xabila yi. A wa tugu batti lamaane togo kitte n na. Yitte ke d'i nya ni koota n nan xawa sefeene m'a na tuyi ti remme kitte n boxe.

Kitti-boxeye tana

Noguni yogo wa du, ji buru n da bonondinde n nya non na siri; watti buru n xa wa nyini noguni yogo yi, xoyi nuxudun wure d'i me.

Kun wattu kaane kitti boxeye n ni wajibi n ya an gana nyi telle tuna n na, an na kun kitti boxeyu xibaru n tirindi, ma an na katu rono an daga nogu ke jamane n na.

Kitti boxeye n ni wajibi nya a gana nyi telle tuna n na.

Health

Water and Health

The biggest part of the human body is water. If a person weighs 72 kilo, 50 out of that 72 is water.

The acidic smell that comes out of the human body is from water, whenever one sweats or urinates.

If you want to be healthy as your usual condition, you should always replace the water that comes out of your body.

That water is obtained in the following ways:

- when you drink;
- when you eat something that contains water, such as salads, beans, green peppers, oranges.

Life Cannot Exist Without Water

How to Drink: A person should drink two or three liters of water every day so he may keep healthy. That water is provided for by water that one drinks or the food that one eats, such as fruits and greens.

But one must be aware that in the Sahel forest, one may need as much as 6 to 8 liters in the dry season.

To go without drinking can kill a person because the body will run out of water.

Ji n do Saha

Sare n fete noggu Gabe ni ji n ya. Sare n xoteye gana 72 kilo (tannyere do kilonifilli) бага, 50 kilo n ni ji n ya.

Baxa be ga sare n fete n na, ken baxa wa bakka do ji n ya, an gana futti ma an gana buusi.

An gana ny'a mulla nan saha t'i an moxo n na, ji be ga bakka an fete n na, an na fo saga a batte n na waxati su.

Ken ji wa kitene:

--an ga minni;

--an ga yigefo yigana ji n g'a yi, xoyi salati, molle, xolline, lemburu.

Bireye n la nta nyana ji n falle

Minne n kille n na: Sare n nan xawa ji n litarani filli na sikko minni kota wo kota keedo an sahante na toxo. Ken ji wa kitene minifoni n na ma yigefoni xoyi yittiremmu n do derixayu.

Xa an n'a tu ti sahelu n gunne n na, ji be ga sare n bakka, a wa telle litarani 6 na 8 ya kineye n na.

Minnan balaxu n lawa sare karini n'a maana n ya ji n kontoye n na fete n na. Fatambinkaara lendunjaaxa gabe wa ken watte seda.

How to Keep the Body Clean

A person breathes by his lungs and his skin. The skin perspires through small holes, where the heat escapes.

That is why those small holes should not be closed by dirt. A person should wash with water and soap every day. And the clothes he wears should be clean.

The skin should not be washed with sand and mud. Those things close the pores (small holes).

A dirty person cannot rid himself of disease.

Fete n laabeye n kille n na

Sare yonkini t'i furutu n ya, a do fete. Fete n wa yonkini ti kunmiso yi, jabare n ga bakka ti noqqu be ya.

Ken yani kun kunmiso nta xawa nan suti mexe n maxa. Sare n nan wangi ti ji n do sabune n na koota su. An ga yira. Mu be xa xondini, i nan laabe.

Fate n ma xawa wangini ti seyiŋe n do doore n na kun ni kunmiso n sutunu ya.

Sare mexente n do watte nta fetene.

Water and Its Dangers

If water is necessary for survival, it can also bring death because it is the cause for many diseases. Presently, those afflicted by water diseases are as many as 500 million. Most germs on the human body are carried by water.

For a long time, many books have stressed that drinking water should be clean. Now, doctors have determined what diseases are carried by bad water.

A person can be cured and keep himself from them.

Paralysis, Bilharzia and Segeremme (a disease characterized by a tumor on the leg, carrying a long white worm) are all carried by water.

The worm disease is well spread. In rainy season, in some towns, everybody catches it.

The germs of the worm infection live under the human skin; after one drinks bad water, the germ enters under the skin. To be safe from the worm disease, one can filter water through a clean piece of cloth.

Togotoke*, diarrhea, and other bad fevers are all gotten from bad water.

*Togotoke is a disease whereby one defecates blood.

Ji N D'i Balawuni

Gelli ji n gani birado yi, a la wa rini ti kalle n xa yi, bawo a yani watti gabe sababu n na.

Lenki-lenki, ji n watte n ga saro be yi i wa 500,000,000 bakka (kanno karagi miliwo). Watti funcu gabe wa saren fete n na, i kitene ji n ya.

Gelli ganni, kitabi gabe d= ko ti miniji nan xawa nyana ji labante ya.

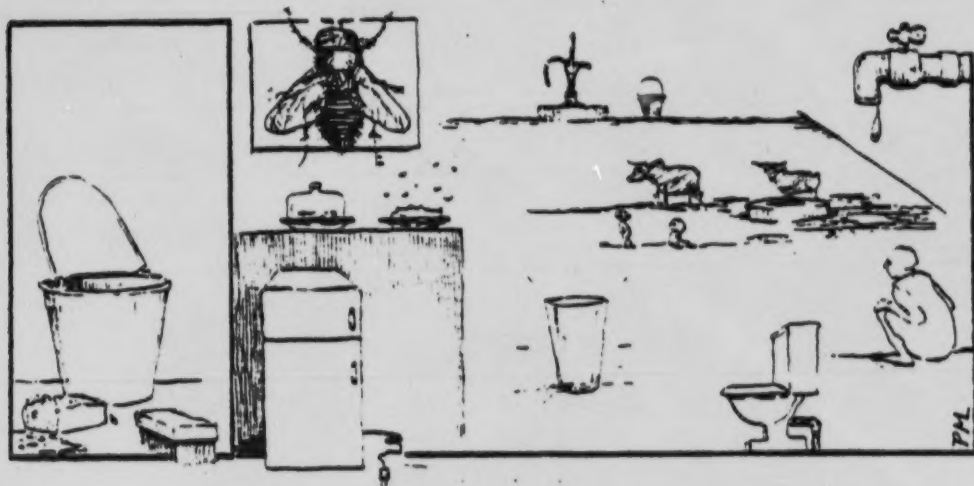
Sasa, dogotorini n da wattu tu ji buru n ga fumbeni kinyana saro n na.

Sare la w'i jarana, na du tang' i ya muruxu, togomanu ado segeremme n kitene ji n ya.

Segekemme n sanginte n ni buru; xaxo n na, debu ya du, segeremme n wa beesu ragana.

Segeremme n funce n wa bireme sare n fete n wure an gana ji bure n mini, funce ke wa rono an fete. Ma an na kisi segeremme n na, an lawa ji mexente n tette ti yiran labante yi sado an g'a minni.

Togotoke, nuxudunwure, a do xaji misi gabe tana wa kitene ji bure n ya yi.



Drinkable Water

Water is essential to health, but all waters are not drinkable. Drinking water that is good for people should be differentiated from bad water, which brings disease to people.

The state of drinkable water: This is how a drinkable water should be:

- It should be clear.
- It should not smell.
- It should neither be sweet nor bitter.
- It should be cold.

So the drinkable water should be kept under the shade.

If you doubt the drinkability of water, you should put some Chlorine in it and heat it up; it would become pure.

The water of a good well can be drunk straight. A well should not be close to polluted waters, or the dump, or the toilet. The well should be as deep as five or ten meters. When its inside is lined with cement, that would be good. The edge too should be built with cement.

Dirty utensils should not be put in the well. The water should be taken from the well with a clean scoop. The well should be closed so the water is not contaminated.

Mini Ji

Ji n ni saha n safare n ya; xa ji n su feti mini ji yi. Mini, funbe ga sare nafana, ado ji buru be ga sahambalaxu n kinyana o yi, a nan xawa n' fatanfansi n'i bogo me yi.

Mini Ji N Nyan Moxo

Mini ji n ga xawa nan nya moxo be, ken fayi:

- A yaxe n sigiten yani.
- Time n t'a yi.
- Liqoye do bexesoye n t'a yi.
- A mullen ya ni.

Mini ji n nan xawa lalle yi n'a ware sirewu n na.

An sikante n gana nyi ji n na, an lawa perimanganati n xono a yi n'a tawondi; awa labene.

Gedi sere n ji n la wa minini. Gede n ma xa wa tinkono ji motinto yi, ma nyegeme, ma joxe yi. Gede n jufoye nan xawa na metatani karagi ma tammu bakka. A noxo n gana sappi ti simon n na, ken ya sire n ni; a kamma xa na bili ti simon na.

Yokki mexente n maxa ro gede n na. Xa na ji n gayi ti gayi labante yi. Gede n lagge na texe m'a ji n ta mexe.

How Women Deliver

When your stomach aches to let you know that your baby is coming, you should go to the hospital where people deliver. The nurse will look at you and tell you if it is time for you to deliver.

By that time, you will be prepared with all these things: the bucket, the soap, the sponge, the tape, the alcohol. When the labor begins, you should climb on the table; when the child's head comes out, the nurse will hold it (meet it), you will help her so she can cut the umbilical cord; she will put alcohol on it, and tie it with the tape, and fix it.

Muso jigin cogo yaxare n saare moxo

An hoxon gana kutu, an ga a tu nan ti an hoxon yan d'an bunu, an na giri nan daga saare hoqqu n na dogotoru n ka-dogotoru yaxaren wa an faayini; gelli an noxon ga kinye, a wa a kono an da.

Ken da a nyi, an moxo n gamunten ni: pala, safune, janpe, bandi, alkoli, a su wa an maxa-guutu-miyen ga na joppe, an na sege tabalin kamma, leminen yimmen gana bagu, dogotoru yaxare n wa gemme ayi, an wa an deemana, a na sonpun kaccen kutu, na alkolin ro ayi, n'a siiti ti ban din na, n'a moxon surondi.

Health

How to Wean a Baby

When the child is six months old, you should give him/her soup along with breast milk. Orange juice, tomato juice, papaya juice and mango juice are all good for the baby at that stage.

Later, when the child is one year old, the mother should start weaning it a little bit at a time. At that stage, the child can eat many small meals. It can eat ground meat, boiled egg and fish; sauces can also be cooked for him; all these can facilitate the weaning of a child.

Den dabo cogo lemine n fate mogo

Lemine n gana xasu tummi kita; an na toxo ruyinkinnia yi n'a kafu kombe n xatti n na. Lenburuji, tomaatiji, papakeyeji a do mangoroji, ken su siren ya ni ti leminen na ken waxati ya.

Ken falle, leminen gana siine kita, saaxen nan xawa na bogu konbe kinne n na fonen fonen, ken bire leminen lawa yigande mise gabe tana yigana, a lawa tiye loppinten yigana, a do xaban soronte, ado nyexe, maxafojin lawa sorene a da, ken su wa leminen fatande n nowondini.

Xaranne N Do Jaate

Soninke, for the most part, is an unwritten language. Until very recently, most of the Soninke language materials available were the texts collected by French linguists and ethnographers, published in bilingual format for French and other European scholars. These appear in journals and books that most Africans simply do not have access to. During the last decade, however, the Soninke language team of the National Literacy Service in Mali has been developing native language materials in Soninke for Soninkes. Oudiary Makan Dantioko has published four volumes of Soninke stories, legends and proverbs (with French translations) through the offices of the literacy service, and other members of the team have produced a very handy Soninke-French lexicon. These materials are available at the DIRECTION NATIONALE DE L'ALPHABETISATION FONCTIONNELLE ET DE LA LINGUISTIQUE APPLIQUEE: DIVISION DE LA RECHERCHE LINGUISTIQUE ET PEDAGOGIQUE Bp 62 Bamako, Mali.

One of the problems facing people wishing to use Soninke for instructional purposes is that most Soninke people are unable to read. Those who have received schooling have been taught to read French (or Arabic, if the schooling received was a Koranic) because the education systems in the countries with Soninke populations were not geared to teaching indigenous national languages.

In this section you will find a Soninke syllabary (entitled XARANE) and an arithmetic primary, designed to teach people how to read and write in their own language and how to do simple calculations. You will find these extremely useful pedagogical devices if you need to teach people such basic skills.

The syllabary starts off teaching the sounds of Soninke, beginning with the vowels and moving to the consonants. The first page, for example, is devoted to the high vowel i, as it appears in the Soninke word tifindi-masi 'planting machine.' The object here is to get people to identify the vowel sound with the printed symbol i, then to get them to actually produce the written symbol at the bottom of the page next to the model letters. This procedure is repeated for each of the short vowel sounds. (Long vowels are not consistently represented.) By the time the consonants are introduced, the student should be able to read combinations of vowels and consonants, that is, he or she should be able to read syllables. When a student can produce syllables like no, na, ni, nu, ne, then he or she can begin to "sound out" and even spell whole words. (That is one of the advantages of reading languages that do not have a long written history. The writing system tends to reflect pronunciation more closely than they would if they were developed centuries ago to represent the language as it was pronounced centuries ago.)

If you work with this syllabary, you should notice several things about it:

(1) its authors write the definite article *n* as part of the noun that it definitizes. Thus the word *geden* means the well, while *gede* would just mean 'a well,' or 'some well;'

(2) initial consonant changes are written as they are pronounced. Thus what we would have written as *gede n xanne n*, the authors write as *geden qannen*, since that is how they pronounce this combination. You should note in conjunction with this that vowel harmony is represented in the writing system, that is, the same vowel is written differently in different contexts because the internal vowels are modified by those contexts.

(3) The dialect represented in this book is apparently the dialect spoken near Nioro, rather than the dialect we have been using. That means that some of the initial consonant changes made in the syllabary will be different from the ones you are used to. It also means that you will encounter some new words. Nevertheless, it is so close to Guidimaxa Soninke that you will have no problem recognizing the meaning of the passages.

(4) Some words are spelled without "long consonants" (for example, *Xaraŋe* is spelled with one *ŋ*, whereas we would have spelled it with a double *ŋ*). The reason this is so is because the official writing system is still being discussed and negotiated. At this point in the history of written Soninke, none of these things is serious.

The section entitled JAATE teaches people the graphic symbols for numbers, progressing from concrete nouns (like 'cow') to abstract items (like the symbols on playing cards). When the student can identify all the numbers from one to ten, the higher digits are introduced. In the Soninke counting system this is all perfectly logical and straightforward; the Soninke word for fifteen is literally ten-and-five, for sixteen "ten-and-six", for seventeen "ten-and-seven" and so forth. Thus the authors of the arithmetic primer exploit this system by using a column labeled "tammu" (tens) and a column labeled "do" or "ba" (units) to teach people how to write these figures. Addition is taught in the section called "kafunde" (literally uniting); subtraction comes under the label "bugunde" (taking away); multiplication and division are taught as "taxurande" and "taxandinde" respectively.

If you get the opportunity, try to teach a friend to read and write. You will be giving that person a gift more precious than anything money can buy.

xarəne

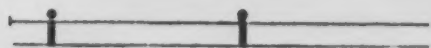


tifindi-masi
masi

si
i

| | | | | | |

tifindi-masi



2



soxooden-ylite
soxooden
so
o

o o o o o o o
l o l o l o

soxooden-ylite

o o

3



soxooden-ylite
ylite
te
e

e e e e o e e
e o l e l o

soxooden-ylite

e e

4



sari toropikali
sari
sa
a

a a a a a a a
l o e a l o

sari toropikali

a a

5



tubabun-mexe
tubabun
tu
u

u u u u u u u
i u o a e u

tubabun-mexe

u u

6



bilre
bil
ii



geese
gee
ee



booto
boo
oo



muude
muu
uu

ii oo ee aa uu

ii oo ee aa uu

gaaye
gaa
aa

7



nagaanan do nanu
nagaanan
na
n

n n n n n n

n → o → no n → a → na

n → e → ne n → u → nu

n → i → ni

no na ni nu ne

na neene noane nunu

nagaanan do nanu



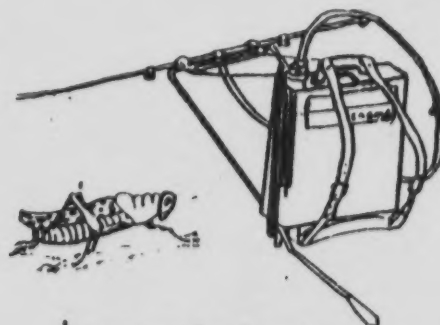
8

nuru ni meraana yi xorera
meraana
raa
r

r r r r r r

r → o → ro r → a → ra
r → e → re r → u → ru
r → i → ri

ra ro ri ru re
naare naare nanari
nuru ni meraana yi xorera



9

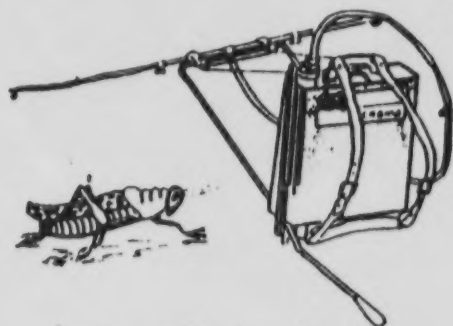
buuren gaja ti pudaran qa
buuren
buu
b

b b b b b b

b → a → ba b → e → be
b → u → bu b → o → bo
b → i → bi

bu ro ba ni be bo
nabure bilire bare banna bure
bubu ri baraban qa ;
babinne bara rini.

10



buuren ga|a il pudaran r̥a
pudaran
da
d

d d d d d d

d → u → du d → o → do
d → i → di d → e → de
d → a → da

da bi ro du ne do
debe doore bedde biraado dare
dade da buurun dabari ;
bodo da baane ro daren di .

11



muuden ni kilonu filli ma sikko '
muuden
muu
m

m m m m m m

m → i → mi m → o → mo
m → a → ma

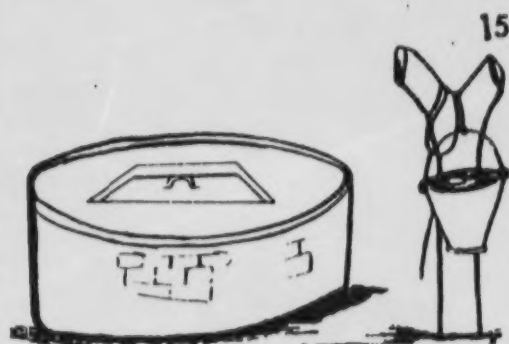
me nu da be ri mu
moodi mane dimme doromme
neema mere maaro mura
umu renime mamu da maran dabari



kaawayen coxen nafan qooren ni
kaawayen
yen
y

y → a → ya y → u → yu
y → i → yi

lu yo na ye ri ka
yille yakke kuye yida
koye ylaame yeere kiye
yaari da ylaamun li koyen di
a da boane kuyi dalla yi.



geden qannen dabari, gaayen jingi
gaayen
gaa
g

g → a → ga g → u → gu
g → i → gi

ya go ki la mu ge
golle gida gada gode
goore yaoge dige galle
ganda d'i nonun minindi geden na,
n'i randi gooren di.

12



muuden ni kilonu filli ma sikko

filli

li

i

| | | | |

| → a → la | → o → lo

| → e → le

li ba du me lu ro

labe lulle molle lalle

laada melle dullen maramalle

melle mari biren ni mullen ga

13



kaawayen coxen nafan qooren ni

kaawayen

kaa

k

k k k k k k

k → u → ku k → e → ke

k → a → ka

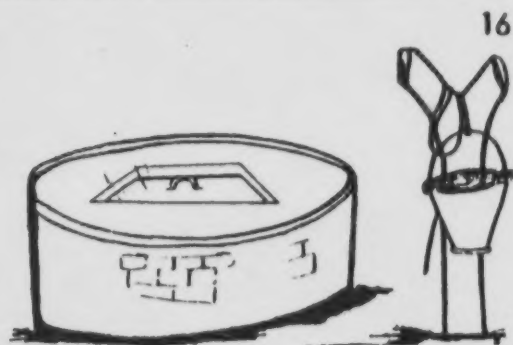
ba ki do me lu ko

kille kine kure kilde

kome kline ka doroke

bakari da kennun kari daarume.

o na killun dabari.



geden qannen dabari, gaayen |ongi
|ongi
|on
|

| → a → |a | → | → ||
| → o → |o

|i |aba |ikke |oole
|ogade |ula |aare |u|e
|i|e |aba |a|e |i|e
|i|biru |ikken ni |a|e yi,
a da daroke kini | |aaren |a.



mistiide xoore wa bamako
xoore
xoo
x

x → a → xa x → | → x|
x → e → xe

xuma xaralle noxo karomoko
meko xolle nukunne kaamare
kuako xore xlane xibaare
ujari maran d'i xохонon da xiyi xoore
kuri xuyi maran di.

18



karanden ñ'o tangana watten ña

watten

wu

w

w → o → wo

w → u → wu

w → a → wa

wali waaye wulle wandalle

waane guwaane waaga walle

waajibi waali-waali wuro duwawu

waali da wallin yiraaman gudu,

a d'i wullen daga wallen ña.

19



faren ña saretin puutunu

faren

fa

f

f → u → fu

f → o → fo

f → i → fi

dafe kufune lafa faabe

fune fayaana fudi lana

fajiri baafa fuura fexe

fadiye da fexe gabe xobo koyen di,

n'o falla lune yi, o n'a ro mmaxafon di

20



faren ɲa saretin puutunu
saretin
sa
s

s → o → so s → i → si
s → e → se

sugo sooge saxa sline
suume musinne suxuba xuso
geese salle sere suwe
salimu da suwan gana i saretin di,
non li a saada saxan di, saajo da
saadanu sikki kabo.

21



bintu wa sorondini sellan ɲa
bin ron lan
in on an

in dinka on fonde
an xande en lenki
un dundo

kande yinkolla gangunde ylgande
sange kandara ganninka kadunka
jabande lilinde fanke gunne
gundo w'i fonden yillen jurini,
sirandu wa sorondini danden di.



tagen ɲa ʔongun-punce dabarini

tagen

ta

i

t → i → ti

t → o → to

t → u → tu

taage tuntu taro turiki

'kuuto taxaya tuwe kitta

tiide toge tugo texe

tummi ten ni taarinu naxali yi,
a d'a tifi fane ; a da yilli gabe kita,
na taonnu tummi gaaga mi'in jiginen na.



tagen ɲa ʔongun-punce dabarini

ʔongun-punce

ce

c

c → a → ca

c → o → co

c → i → ci

cakka kacce ciga kocce

caaku gacce danca gancinde

fanco buccinne gecce wonco

'manca cigan ciro moxosiri, a da fan-cege
caaku faga n'i gaaga ; a da xaalisi gabe kita.

24



pinkun ga nanun tangana watten ga
pinkun
pin
p

p → u → pu p → e → pe
p → a → pa

paaka kompe poore pala
sappa sumpo kanpe deppe
zappe goppe dampe coppo

wuturunerin ga na nanun pinki, a w'i kisini
watti gobe yi xo xuraji ma ta-wulle.

25



tamba wa tangini lamben di
tamba tangini
lam lan
am an

am = an

an kande	am kambo
on fonde	om kompe
en gende	em remme
in yinte	im dimme
un murunte	um gumba

tamba wa yilan compene lamben di ;
a remmun ga bumbene a tolen ga.



alahayi haajun ni xaraanen na
haajun
haa
h

h → i → hi h → o → ho
h → a → ha

hiyiba huura hadama hinaya
alahadi hukuuu juhudu haala

alahayi ni xarallen cire ya yi : a wa xaranna bira su.
saura, a sa wa yi litaran aifano, na duben cugallen janta.



suraqqe mahame d'i nyogome
suraqqe
qe
q

q → u → qu q → i → qi
q → o → qo

yaqqe siqqe sonqe fangge laqqe rariya yarqinda
buqqe musaqqe xilunqo xanqo xinqetuna

majoosar yurqan d'i gollan jabandi : a ga da tsaxili, jaba
a da mulunqo benu saara, i su tiro moxakiri.

28



dabanganan da soxen newondi
dabanganan

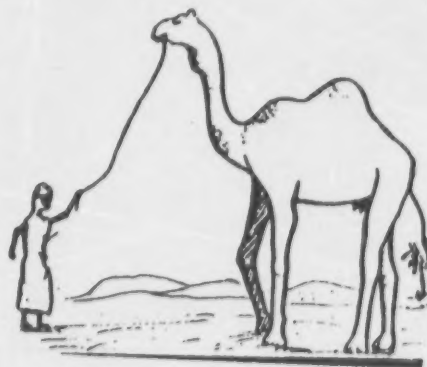
na
n

n → o → no n → u → nu
n → e → ne

sallige na'ami bulutige fage bolige manqige
dunqige nunaige bandage lantage sallige daga

saxanana ga n'i saxanana jaara, n'a lili il lili ndi-masin
na, nna cewa il sarin na dabanganan na, na tubalan-saxan
to il ten di, a saxan cke.

29



suraqqe mahame d'i nyogome
nyogome
nyo
ny

ny → a → nya ny → e → nye
ny → i → nyi

nyogame nyinya maanya daunya nyacca nyunyu
sanya nyanto nyanke nyaxe nyunbi nyanyai

lenki ni nyale kadan ya yi, e da nyaxe gaba nyanya
i kina da ; nyaxale suxun e di.

Jaate



na 1



1



1

1 _____
2 _____

na 2



2



2

1 _____
2 _____

2



nanu 3



3

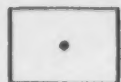


3



2

3

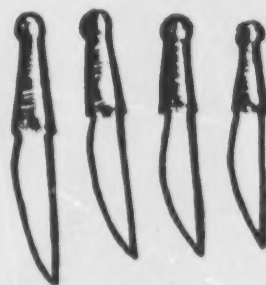


1

3

1 2 3

3



labu 4



4



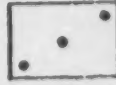
4



1



2



3

4

4

1 2 3 4

4



labu 5



5



5



5

1 3 4

5



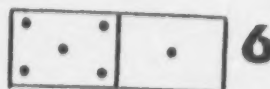
jogodu 6



6



6



6

4 5



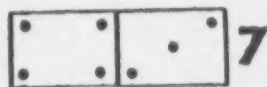
logodu 7



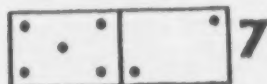
7



7



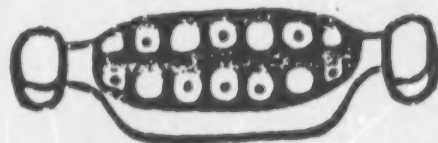
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7

7

5 6



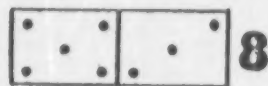
woli-funcu 8



8



8



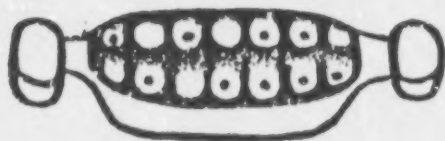
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8

8

6 7



8

woli-funcu 9



9



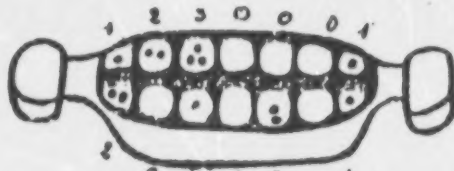
9



9

9

7 8



9



9



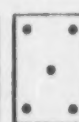
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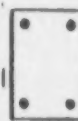
7



6



5



4



3



2



1



0

0

0

7 8 9

10

jaate-lemmuv

0 1 2

3 4 5 6

7 8 9

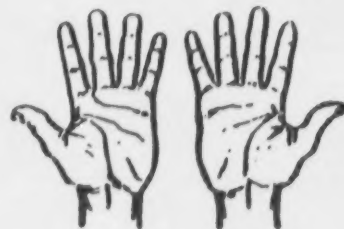
0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9

tenese	tarata	araba	alaxamisa	aljuma	sibiti	alaha
1	2	3	4	5	6	7
8	9					

0 1 2 3 4

5 6 7 8 9

11



dorommu 10



0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10

9 8 7 6 5 4 3 2 1 0

12



tamaro-funcu 15

tamnu	do
1	5

tamaro 17

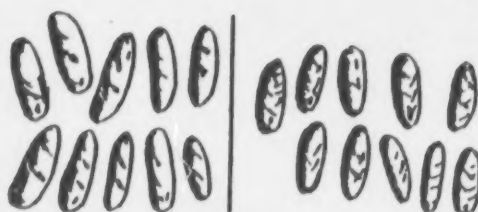
tamnu	do
1	7
1	9

tamaro 19

tamnunun kompe : baanun kompe

(ta)	(ba)
1	5
1	7
1	9

13



20 tamare-funce

tamnunun kompe	baanun kompe
(ta)	(ba)
2	0

9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20

14
16
10
20

ta	ba
1	4
1	6
1	0
2	0

kalandiriya 1979

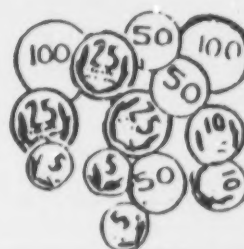
me xaso

tenega	tarata	araba	alaxamisa	aljuma	sibiti	alahadi
	1	2	3	4	5	6
7	8	9	10	11	12	13
14	15	16	17	18	19	20
21	22	23	24	25	26	27
28	29	30	31			

	ta	ba
26	7	6
39	3	9
54	5	4
78	7	8
99	9	9

45 67 89

14



xaalisi-misu

lenki xaalisi-misu ni :

gode 1 gode 2 gode 5 gode 10 20 gode

gode 1 ya ni tammanu 5 ya.
ken 5 ya safanten ta godan kamma.

manina safanten na gode 2 kamma ?
manina safanten na gode 5 kamma ?

tammanu manina na gode 10 di ?
tammanu manina na 20 gode di ?

juate safante :

gode wa safane (gd), na daɗandi.

o n'u safa, n'u xara :

gd 1 gd 2 gd 5 gd 10 20 gd

15



kamo 2 tan 4 do kilonu 5 : 245 k

	kamo	tan	do
245	2	4	5
673	6	7	3

	ka	ta	ba
kamo 7 tan 5 ..	7	5	0
kamo 8 .. do 5	8	0	5
kamo 1	1	0	0
kamo 9 tan 9 do 9	9	9	9

975

kafunde

ka	ta	ba
1	0	5
8	8	4
1	8	9

jaateragaye

$$\begin{array}{r} 105 \\ + 84 \\ \hline = 189 \end{array}$$



bubu tammun d'i saluman yillen qence ti muden na, giden qallen gemu 105 muudu, xaxanen qallen gemu 84 muudu. I saro filli da manime k'ita ?

a n'a safa : 105 muudu + 84 muudu = ?

ke tujumance (?) toko ni kafundi-fo.

n'ga jagana l'in tayan ga, baanun kompen di :

5 ga na kafu 4 yi, ken ga gemme 9.

n'ga 9 safa 4 wure.

n'ga rini tammunun kompen di :

0 ga na kafu 8 yi, ken ga gemme 8.

n'ga 8 safa 8 wure.

n'ga rini kompenun kompen di :

n'ga 1 yonqandini.

jaabi : 105 muudu + 84 muudu = 189 muudu

xa da ku jaatu raga :

$$\begin{array}{r} 83 \\ + 15 \\ \hline = 98 \end{array} \quad \begin{array}{r} 326 \\ + 71 \\ \hline = 397 \end{array} \quad \begin{array}{r} 234 \\ + 153 \\ \hline = 387 \end{array}$$

kafunde

hame-jaare da sunken landi banno-siku kaara.
a d'i yaqqun d'a ku 785 gd. a neegan-lemmun
d'a donaa ti 145 gd.

jaaren da manime kila ?

$$a \text{ n'a saka : } 785 \text{ gd} + 145 \text{ gd} = ?$$

	ka	ta	ba	jaateragaye
	7	8	5	785
	1	4	5	+ 145
=	9	12	10	= 930

5 da 5, ken ga gemme 10.

10 ni jaate-lemmu filli ya yi, jaate-lemmu
filli ra n'a safene kome baane di.

n'ga 0 safana baannun kompen di, na 1 safu.

n'ga da 1 ba safu, ken ga kappa tammunun ga.

1 da 8 da 4, ken ga gemme 13.

n'ga 3 safana tammunun sure. 1 wa kappa
kamenun ga.

1 da 7 da 1, ken ga gemme 9.

n'ga 9 safana kamenun sure.

$$\text{jaabi : } 785 \text{ gd} + 145 \text{ gd} = 930 \text{ gd.}$$

xa da ku jaatu raga :

749	378	524
+ 168	+ 436	+ 284
=	=	=

$$436 + 275 =$$

$$629 + 146 =$$

bugunde



nyaxalen d'i jaba, d'i xoline a d'i jaxatage gaaga
548 gd, a d'i mraana tuga 335 gd. a xallisin kutte
ni manime yi ?

548 gd, an ga na 335 gd bug'a di, ken ga gemme
manime yi ?

$$a \text{ n'a saka : } 548 \text{ gd} - 335 \text{ gd} = ?$$

	ka	ta	ba	jaateragaye
	5	4	8	548
	- 3	3	5	- 335
=	2	1	3	= 213

ke tagumance (j)toke ni bugundi-to.

n'ga jaqana l'in tayan ga baannun kompen di wurera
kotti kammun ga.

5 ga na bugu 8, a wa taqqa 3. n'ga 3 safana wurera
baannun kompen di. 3 ga na bugu 4 di, a wa taqqa 1.

n'ga 1 safana wurera tammunun kompen di. 3 ga na

bugu 5 di, a wa taqqa 2. n'ga 2 safana wurera
kamenun kompen di.

$$\text{jaabi : } 548 \text{ gd} - 335 \text{ gd} = 213 \text{ gd.}$$

xa da ku jaatu raga :

758	869	965
- 434	- 346	- 853
=	=	=

$$456 - 233 =$$

$$728 - 504 =$$



bugunde

385 gumbu nyl madi gooren di ; a da 178 gaaga.
manima taxo a maxa ?

a n'a safa : $385 - 178 = ?$

	ka	ta	ba
-	3	8	5
-	1	7	8
=	2	0	7

jaateragaye
385
- 178
= 207

baanun kompen di : 8 ga na bugu 5 di, ken la nta
nyana. n'ga 10 kappa baanun ga ; 10
do 5, ken ni 15 yi. 8 ga na bugu 15 di,
a wa taqqa 7.

n'ga da 10 ba kafu baanun ga, n'ga saagana
tammunun ga wurera. 7 do 1, ken ni 8.
8 ga na bugu 8 di, a taqqa 0.

kamenun kompen di : 1 ga na bugu 3 di, a wa
taqqa 2.

jaabi : $385 - 178 = 207$

xa da ku jaatu raga :

435	704	921	642 - 375 =
- 269	- 578	- 685	805 - 365 =
=	=	=	



taxurande

fodiye da 321 makkan-jagode gaaga saxon di ; jagode
baane su 3 gd. a xaalisin gamme manima yi ?

a n'a safa : $3 \text{ gd} \times 321 = ?$

	ka	ta	ba
	3	2	1
x	3	2	1
=	9	6	3

jaateragaye
321
x 3
= 963

ke taqumance (x) taxo ni murandi-fa.

baanun kompen di : 3 taxura 1, ken ni 3

tammunun kompen di : 3 taxuranu 2, ken ni 6

kamenun kompen di : 3 taxuranu 3, ken ni 9.

jaabi : $3 \text{ gd} \times 321 = 963 \text{ gd}$.

a taxo an paqqilen di :

an g'a munda nan katti taxuranden ga,
an nan qawa jaate len baane o baane
taxuranun caerana.

xa da ku jaatu raga :

342	213	120
x 2	x 3	x 4
=	=	=
132 x 3 =		201 x 4 =

taxurande



matanen di digin-lemme caxundi tontopen na soadanu 3, saada baane su 245 gd. a kite ti manima yi ?

a n'a safa : $245 \text{ gd} \times 3 = ?$

	ka	ta	ba
x	2	4	5
			3
=	7	13	15

$$\begin{array}{r} \text{jaateragaye} \\ 245 \\ \times 3 \\ \hline = 735 \end{array}$$

3 taxuranu 5, ken ni 15 ; 15 ni [ate-lemmu filili] ya yi
1 ra n'a rano kompe baane di. 5 wa safene baanun
kompen di. 1 be ga safu, ken na kappa tammunun
jallen na

3 taxuranu 4, ken ni 12 ; 12 do 1 be ga safu, ken ni
13 ; 3 wa safene, 1 wa kappa kamanun jaalen na.

3 taxuranu 2, ken ni 6 ; 6 do 1 be ga safu, ken ni 7.
7 wa safene kamanun kompen di.

Jaabi : $245 \text{ gd} \times 3 = 735 \text{ gd}$.

xa da ku jaatu raga :

$$\begin{array}{r} 426 \\ \times 2 \\ \hline \end{array} \quad \begin{array}{r} 218 \\ \times 4 \\ \hline \end{array} \quad \begin{array}{r} 234 \\ \times 3 \\ \hline \end{array}$$

$$407 \times 2 =$$

$$316 \times 3 =$$

taxandinde

jaatemundiye :

soro sikki kafu na saretin batu 965 gd a nun daga
i'i yakkun na lambidu koyen na. baane sun qawa
manima lugana sarell-gumen da ?

maxankonne : $965 \text{ gd} : 3 = ?$

$$\begin{array}{r} \text{jaateragaye} \\ 965 \quad 3 \\ - 9 \quad \quad \quad 321 \\ \hline 06 \\ - 6 \quad \quad \quad 05 \\ \hline 05 \\ - 3 \quad \quad \quad 2 \\ \hline \end{array}$$

n'a n'a [om] ... na noojen na. 9 ga na taxandi 3 yi,
ken na gemme 321 na yi ? ma xa 3 taxuranu manima
na 9 di ? 3 taxuranu 3 ; n'a 3 safana. $3 \times 3 = 9$;
 $9 - 9 = 0$.

n'a 6 yankandini o tayan di. 6 ga na taxandi 3 yi,
ken na gemme 2. $2 \times 3 = 6$; $6 - 6 = 0$.

n'a 5 yankandini o tayan di. 5 ga na taxandi 3 yi,
ken na gemme 1. $1 \times 3 = 3$; $5 - 3 = 2$.

Jaabi : $965 \text{ gd} : 3 = 321 \text{ gd}$, a kuma ni 2 gd.

ke (:) tagumance taxan ni taxandi-ro.

965 ni taxandira.

3 ni taxandaana

321 ni taqqe

xa da ku jaatu raga :

$$\begin{array}{r} 50 \quad 3 \\ \div 3 \\ \hline \end{array}$$

$$\begin{array}{r} 486 \quad 4 \\ \div 3 \\ \hline \end{array}$$

taxandinde

24

Jaatenwudiye :

ncumba da taarinu 4 ciga toso. a cigan ga pose,
a gemu 3840 k. tauri baane cigan ni manina yi ?

maxankanne : 3840 k : 4 = ? Jaateragaye :

$$\begin{array}{r} 3840 \quad 4 \\ - 36 \quad \quad \quad = 960 \\ \hline 24 \\ - 24 \\ \hline 00 \\ - 0 \\ \hline 0 \end{array}$$

taxandana ni jaate-len baane ya yi,
n'ga jaate-len baane wuttu taxandiran ga.
3 ra nta taxandini 4 yi. n'ga jaate-lemu filli wuttu
taxandiran ga.

38 : 4 = ? taxuramu manina na 38 di ?

4 taxuramu 9, $9 \times 4 = 36$; $38 - 36 = 2$.

n'ga 4 yanqandini 2 layen di; ken ga nyana 24 ;

24 ga na taxandi 4, ken ga gemme 6. $6 \times 4 = 24$;

$24 - 24 = 0$.

n'ga 0 yanqandini 0 layen di. ken ga nyana 0 ;

0 ga na taxandi 4 yi, ken ga gemme 0. $0 \times 0 = 0$;

$0 - 0 = 0$.

Jaabi : 3840 k : 4 = 960 k

tauri baane cigan ni 960 k.

xa da ku jaatu raga :

$$\begin{array}{r} 163 \quad 3 \\ \hline \end{array}$$

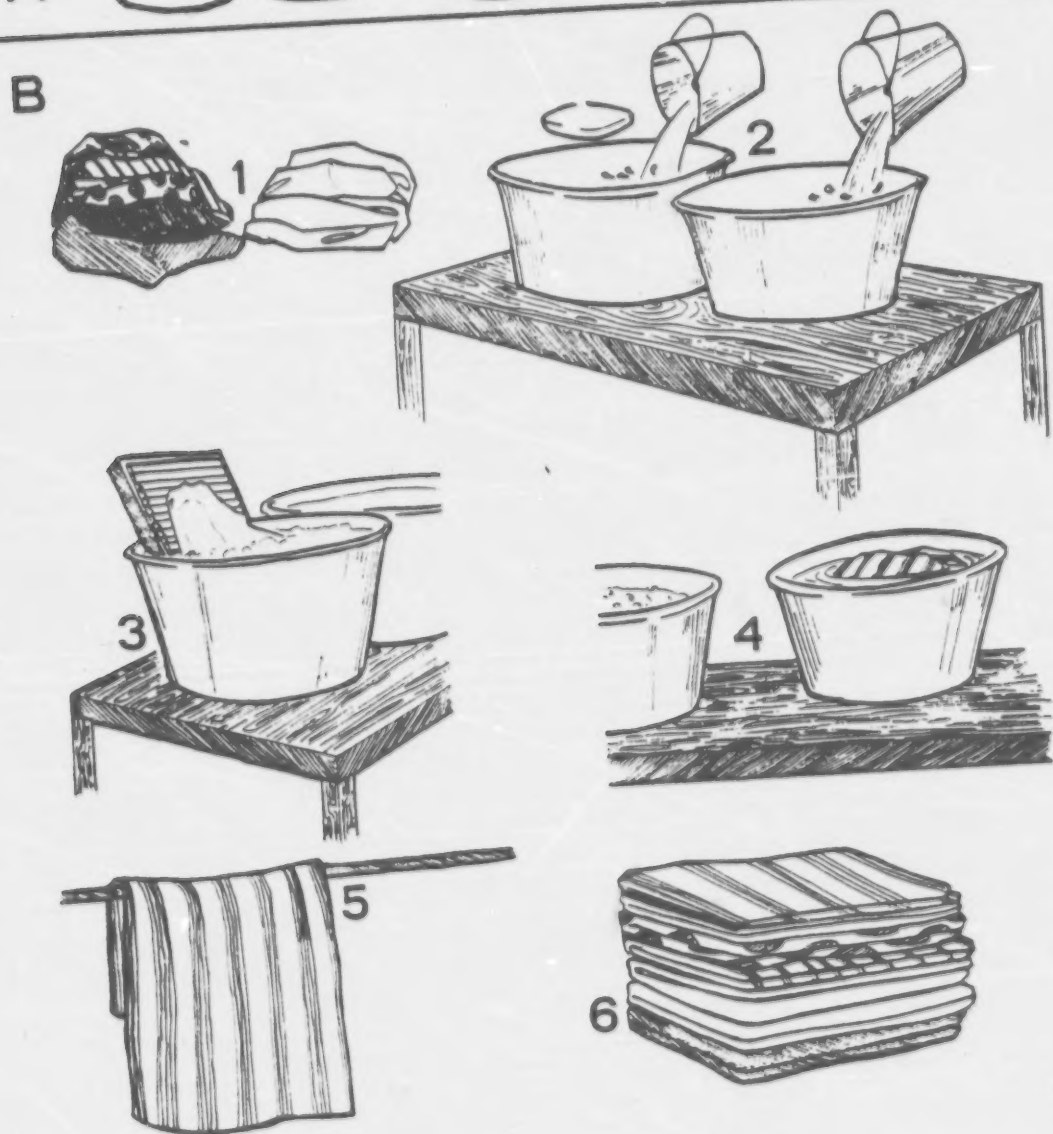
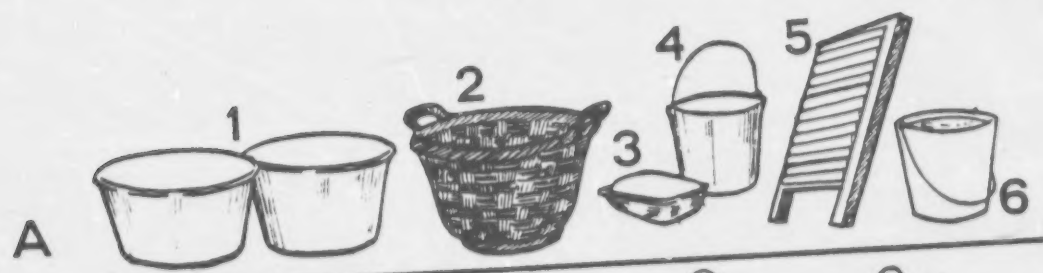
$$\begin{array}{r} 638 \quad 7 \\ \hline \end{array}$$

$$\begin{array}{r} 715 \quad 5 \\ \hline \end{array}$$

balkuwaraga sarawuel

taari dudu dudu ta

lip 62 bamaku



Yiran wangiye

A - wangindi yokku.

1. tasa xoro filli (2)
2. kanda baane (1)
3. sabune
4. siwo baane (1)
5. wangindi "planchi" baane (1)
6. ji

B. wangindi moxo

1. Yiramu n na taxandi saado filli. Xa maxa yiran xullu n do kuttu kafu me yi. Xa maxa yiran xoto n do yiran newu n wangi doome. Saado xa yiran xoto n wangini, xa n'i xawondi fina.
2. Xa na fasani n faga ji n na.
3. Xa na sabune n do "planchi" n ro tasa baane noxo n na. Xa na yirame n ro a noxo n na n'a tonyongi siri "planchi" ke kamma.
4. Xa n'a salangu ji laabante n na.
5. N'a fesi kacce n na.
6. A gana kawa, xa n'a xoro n'a gunu.

Laundry

Washing Clothes*

A. You will need:

1. 2 large basins or washtubs
2. 1 large basket
3. Soap
4. Bucket
5. Washboard
6. Water

B. Instructions

1. Separate the clothes into two piles. Whites and colors should not be washed together. Heavy and lightweight clothes should also be washed separately. Heavy clothes should be wet before washing.
2. Fill both tubs with water.
3. Place soap and washboard in one tub of water and wash the clothes by rubbing them up and down on the washboard.
4. Rinse the clothes in clear water.
5. Hang the clothes on the line to dry.
6. When the clothes are dry, fold them carefully.

Note:

You may have to change the water in both tubs after some of the clothes are washed to make sure the remaining clothes are being washed and rinsed in clear water. Wring the clothes to remove excess water.

*Illustrations and English and French texts taken from FAO Publication: Labor Saving Ideas, Volume 2 (Home Techniques).

Lavage Du Linge

A. Ce qu'il vous faut:

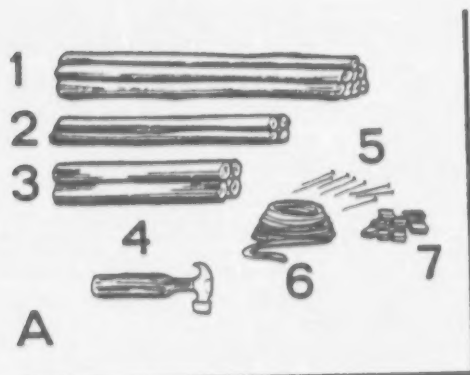
1. 2 grandes bassines ou baquets
2. 1 grand panier
3. Savon
4. 1 seau
5. 1 planche à laver
6. Eau

B. Instructions

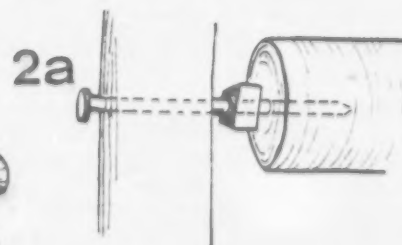
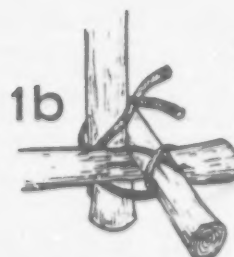
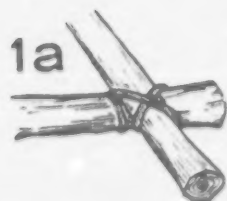
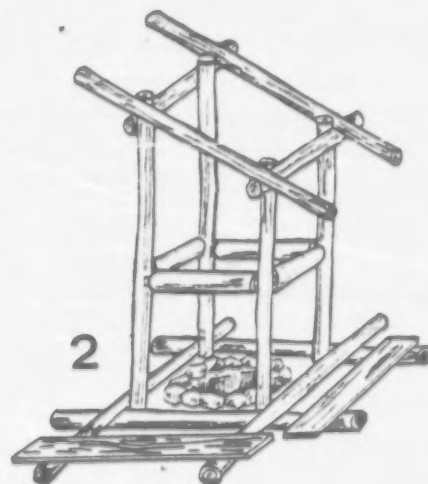
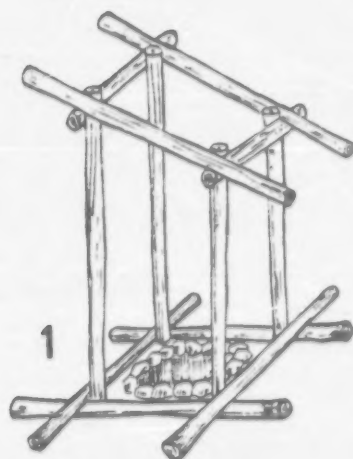
1. Séparer le linge en deux tas. Il ne faut pas laver ensemble le linge blanc et le linge de couleur. Il faut également laver séparément le linge épais et le linge fin. Il faut mouiller le linge épais avant de le laver.
2. Remplir d'eau les deux baquets.
3. Placer le savon et la planche à laver dans l'un des baquets d'eau et laver le linge en le frottant de bas en haut et de haut en bas sur la planche à laver.
4. Rincer le linge à l'eau claire.
5. Etendre le linge sur le fil pour le sécher.
6. Lorsque le linge est sec, le plier soigneusement.

Note:

Il est à conseiller de changer l'eau des deux baquets après avoir lavé un peu de linge pour que le linge restant soit lavé et rincé dans de l'eau claire. Essorer le linge pour enlever l'excès d'eau.



B



Gede n jongo

A. Funbe gan siri xa maxa

1. Yitti kingu 8, fo gillu n do fo deppu.
2. Yitti kinga 4, i ma gillo, i ma defo.
3. Solli deppu naxati (4)
4. Fullade
5. Ponti yinxooro segi ma mexe gille n'a taxandi kutadu nyekonto segi.
6. Kaccin gunna 1
7. Solli deppu 8 ma fooli yin xoto 8.

B. (a nyanimoxo)

1. Xa na solli gillu naxati (4) siiti me yi na jungu 4 nya, n'i gemundi geden jungu n na. Solli siitinto n na dangi me yi fonne. Solli yetunto ku jungu n 4, xa na sollu 4 tana siiti i ya. Kaara baane n fillo na gillo, kaara baane n fillo n na defo. Kun xa yimmu n na xa na sollu 4 tana siiti n'a nya biire n na.
2. Xa na pontini n wutu na pulini n do sollu tonto me yi. Xa maxa mungu na yitte ma foole ro sollu n do pulini n naxa n na; ken gana nya, i nta melini me yi.

Well Cover*

A. You will need

1. 8 long sturdy pieces (or poles) of wood of various lengths
2. 4 medium-sized sturdy pieces of wood
3. 4 short pieces of wood suitable for roller pulleys
4. Hammer
5. 8 railroad spikes or a narrow metal rod cut into 8 equal lengths
6. A coil of rope
7. 8 small wooden blocks or pieces of hard rubber

B. Instructions

1. Lash together 4 of the long pieces of wood to form a square that will fit around the well. The ends of the pieces of wood should extend beyond the edge of the well. At the inside corners of the square lash, upright, 4 more pieces of wood. The 2 on one side should be slightly longer than the 2 on the opposite side. To the upper ends of these upright pieces of wood lash, as illustrated, the 4 medium-sized pieces of wood. Two pieces should be longer and lashed at an angle to complete the frame for a sloping roof. For detail of lashings, see diagrams 1a and 1b.
2. Using the railroad spikes, or the pieces of metal rod, nail the roller pieces of wood to the upright posts at right angles about halfway up on the uprights as in illustration. Be sure to place a small block of wood or piece of rubber on the rod between the upright and the roller pieces to avoid touching.

Note:

1. The well is now ready for use with a waterproof container tied to a length of rope and lowered over one of the short pieces of wood.
2. A roof of bamboo, woven material or tin can be placed over the top and fastened to the uprights with rope.
3. Every effort should be made to keep well water clean by using a clean dipper, covering the well and preventing foreign matter from falling in. If it is to be used for drinking it should also be purified.

*Illustration and English and French texts taken from FAO Publication: Labor Saving Ideas, Volume 2 (Home Techniques)

Toiture Du Puits

A. Ce qu'il vous faut:

1. 8 grosses branches (ou poteaux) de diverses longueurs
2. 4 grosses branches de longueur moyenne
3. 4 morceaux de bois courts pour les poulies rotatives
4. Marteau
5. 8 clous à large tête ou une fine baguette métallique coupée en 8 parties égales
6. 1 rouleau de corde
7. 8 petits blocs de bois ou morceaux de caoutchouc dur

B. Instructions

1. Lier ensemble 4 des branches longues pour former un carré s'adaptant autour de l'orifice du puits. Les extrémités des branches doivent dépasser d'une certaine longueur. A l'intérieur des angles du carré, fixer verticalement 4 autres branches dont 2, placées du même côté, sont plus longues. Attacher, aux extrémités supérieures, les 4 branches de longueur moyenne, comme le montre l'illustration. Deux de ces branches sont plus longues; elles complètent la charpente et forment la pente du toit. Les illustrations 1a et 1b montrent comment les attacher.
2. Avec les clous à large tête ou les morceaux de baguette métallique, fixer entre les montants, à mi-hauteur, les poulies rotatives comme le montre l'illustration. N'oublier pas de mettre un petit bloc de bois ou un morceau de caoutchouc sur la baguette entre le montant et la poulie pour éviter qu'ils ne se touchent.

Note:

1. On peut désormais utiliser le puits et puiser l'eau avec un récipient étanche attaché à une corde qu'on laisse glisser sur l'une des poulies.
2. On peut mettre un toit en bambou, en un matériau tissé ou en tôle; on le fixe aux montants par des cordes.
3. Il faut s'efforcer par tous les moyens de garder propre l'eau du puits: en utilisant un récipient propre, en recouvrant le puits et en empêchant tout objet d'y tomber. Purifier l'eau si elle doit être bue.

Areas of Peace Corps Involvement - Specialized Vocabulary

The following specialized vocabulary lists are adapted from Monteil's Vocabulaire Soninke (parties du corps et noms de parante) and Vocabulaire Soninke II, which are published in Bulletin of IFAN Volumes 28 and 29 respectively. In many cases words supplied by Monteil have been replaced or supplemented by others thought to be more accurate, and in most cases spelling has been adjusted. The order of presentation is basically Monteil's.

A. <u>The person</u>		sare (singular)	saro (plural)
man	yugo	Adam's apple	selin-sondome
adult man	yugo xoore	chest	gigime
woman	yaxare	back	sege
corpse	fure	shoulder	kunke
soul	yonki	side	kaara
mind, spirit	kiilu	lung	kombe
flesh	tiye	heart	sondome
bone	xote	liver, (anger)	butte
skeleton	furen-xote	bile	xeefe
vein	nyiime	stomach	gomme
nerve	nyiimi-xoore	guts	noxun-lemme
blood	fore	buttocks	tin-kambe
skin	fate	thigh	fengene
hair	yinte	arm	kitte
fat	katoye	biceps	xuli
milk	xatti	forearm	sogone
saliva	laqqan-ji	wrist	kitten-xanne
spit	xaxa	hand	kitte
head	yimme	foot	fa
pate	yin-xote kaawante	calf	xude
brain	lulla	knee	xurungo
cheek	xume	ankle	selin-yelle
eye	yaaxe	heel	tan-junxo
eyebrow	yaaxan-gungume	breath, air	fanke
eyelash	yaaxan-yinte	hunger	dulle
tear	yaaxan-ji	thirst	daxo
"sleep"	yaaxan-xuro	sleep	xenqo
nose	nuxunne	disease	watti
snot	nuxun-ji	dysentary	togotakke
ear	toro	boil, hive	funte
ear-wax	toron-xuro	abcess	fum-bunne
mouth	laqqe	pus	mote
lip	soome	smallpox	badane
gum	diginya	syphillis	marasa

tooth	kambe	cold	mula
canine	jare	blind	finki
molar	kamban-golle	deaf	lungu
tongue	neene	mute	mume
beard	sinqe	crippled	jugumunte
chin	singen-xote	hunchback	jugunte
moustache	laqqen-yinte	insane	waxante,
neck	xanne		tuurinte

B. The Family

house	ka	clan	xabiila
eldest	xabiilan-xirse	relative	maremme
relationship	maremmaxu	in-law	kalla
husband	kiine, yugo	wife	yaqqe, yaxare
co-wife	teyne	child	remme, lemme
baby	ren-dumbe	son	len-yugo
daughter	len-yaxare	father	faaba, baaba
mother	saaxe, ma	grandfather	kisime
grandmother	maame	grandchild	kisimare
older brother	gide	younger brother	xoxone
older sister	giden-yaxare	younger sister	xoxonen-yaxare
last born	lagare	father's brother	faaba
mother's sister	saaxe, ma	father's sister	baaye
mother's brother	kaawe	mother's co-wife	ma-teyne
youth	maxambane	maiden, virgin	yaxanne
girl	xuso	boy	murunte
legal concubine	taara	widow	yaxare duuro
widower	yugo duuro	orphan	alhatiime
bride	maanyo-yaxare	dowry	futte
groom	maanyo	chaperone	xusu-manta
marriage party	gemmano	repudiation	warande
divorce	fatte	friend	menjanne
lover	xana	prostitute	kakala,
bastard	sanga-lemme		sangandaana
new mother,		neighbors	tara-lemmu
wet nurse	lenja	adulterer	sangaano
heritage	xeye		

Specialized Vocabulary

C. Habitations

house	ka	enclosure	sangalle
courtyard	kan-bera	round house	kompe
thatch	jonge, tiba	patio, terrace	kombariye
lock	barabara	door	fo-laoqe
key	xaru-lemme	door space	baafe
square house	xube	padlock	kananyara
vestibule	bulunne	window	planateeri
coverlet	xupu-yiraame	blanket	bajo
Segou blanket	koso	Mopti blanket	kasa
bed	saxu	mat	daba, daago, gudaare
sheepskin	guja	chair	korondome
hammock	kaccin-golle	trunk	waxande
stool	taxaade	cook-house	soro-kompe
sack	booto	cooking pot	gine
calabash (water)	jiran-qolle	water jar	lalle
mortar	golle	wooden bowl	noore
gourd	xolle	pestal	gondome
village	debe, kanu	pen for cows	nangalle
mirador	kora	capital	toori-debe
plaza	bera		

D. Clothing And Ornamentation

hat	kufune	hairdo	tulle
boubou	doroke	shirt	turiki
pocket	jiiba	sleeve	kitte
pants	wuno	belt	wunan-kacce
trousers with big seat	sarabu	scarf	disa
coat	gurumuse	handkerchief	saasi
pagne	yiraame	petit pagne	fendeli
slipper	teppu	babouche	muqqu
silver bracelet	xalisin gode	wooden shoe	kollopu
ring	doromma-	chain	surumme
coral	degene	earring	kurukuru
		amulette	sefeye

(See Section G also.)

E. Food yigande, yigafo

drink	mini-fo	flour	jura
millet	yille	corn	makka
rice	maaro	beans	molle
peanuts	tiga	onion	basalle
pepper	foronto	salt	sappe
salt bar	farde	meat	tiye
fish	nyexe	fat	katoye
butter	te	vegetable butter	xarete
Moor's butter	sirima	water	ji
fresh milk	xatti xaye	sour milk	xatti malace
honey	yaage	egg	xabaane
breakfast	hacitaari	noon meal	yara xate
evening meal	nyaxame	fruit	yitti-remme
couscous	futo	porridge	sombi
alcohol	dolo	baobab leaves	kiidi-taxaye

F. Animals

beast,		wild animal	tumuja,
mute thing	fo-muume		gunnedu-fo
domesticate	kadun-fo	fowl	kampinte
carnivor	kambante	ruminant	saagadindaana
animal with claws	segenente	egg-layer	xabaana
reptile	sakaana	viviparous	
flock, herd	goore	animal	saarana
beak	soome	hoof	korombince
foot of bird	ta	fin	nyexe-sanpu
horn	benne	plume, fur	yinte
hump on animal	jungo	bee	tulle
spider	miraane	fly	siyanne
butterfly, moth	moodi-lemme	snail	tamboxodaana
gecko	bagaane	mouse	nyiinye
bedbug	pelu, felu	worm	xuude
ground squirrel	guwaane	hedgehog	tan-quille
porcupine	sagalamme	scorpion	nyanto
leech	nyece	louse	duunye
tortoise	kundune	turtle	teele
flea	fette	oyster	xaafuri-remme
bird	yeline	white-headed eagle	kolice
blue eagle	luuxo	hawk, vulture	jamba
kite	kardige	swallow	firinifiraane
white egret	saaxon-quille	gray egret	saaxon-binne
cattle bird	jenjellin-quille	dove	boore
pigeon	makka-boore	guinea fowl	kenne
duck	wandalle	falcon	sagara

Specialized Vocabulary

parrot	ceero	ostrich	firge
chicken	seline	dog	wulle
cat	muusine	wild cat	nyunqume
donkey	fare	pig	tubaabun-fare,
horse	si		faringije
cow	na	bull	gumbo
riding bull	tamme	sheep	jaxe
goat	sugo	elephant	tuure
hippopotamus	yingamme	crocodile	kine
camel	nyogome	giraffe	gundu-nyogome
lion	jarinte	monkey	fune
jackal	boyinaara	hyena	turunne
antelope	daagare	biche	siine
lynx	manya		

G. Plants and Vegetation

grass	sokke	millet	yille
millet varieties	nyeniko,	millet varieties	gajaba,
	suuma		saame
corn	makka	rice	maaro
peanut	tiga	onion	basalle
indigo	gara	cotton	kotolle
basilic	gungumme	bamboo	xore
root	nyiime	trunk	tine
branch	kinge	log	gurda
leaf	dare	blossom	fuuge
bark	kurume	wood	suwa
forest	diga	baobab	kiide
fromagier	bantiinne	kapock	baa
date palm	tamare	ronier palm	kaye
iphenae thebaica	gelle	henna	jabe
dalbergia melanoxylon	xoofe	balamites egyptiaca	sexenne
Tamarindus indica	xaralle	Cola acuminata	goro
diospyros mespiliformis	jomba	garinarium excelsum	tumbe
gardenia thumbergia	bude	cordila africana	wanqare
calotropis procera	tulumba	acacia Ailolica	jabe
mitragyna inermis	kille	capparis decidua	sombitte
Pterocarpus lucens	bampane	Lannea humilis	dinwindonu
bauhinia rufescens	gassambe	ficus thonningii	dibiliinne
guiera senegalensis	xame	khaya senegalensis	tuudo
ficus syncomorus	dinde	acacias speciosa	koron-binne
acacias alboda	saase	acacias siberiana	gese
acacias seyal	gesen-xulle	anogeissus leiocarpus	waaye
parkia biglobosa	neta	bassia Parkii	xarete
bunkungo	giriioome	grewia botuloe folia	sambe
bauhinia reticulata	yaafe	spathandra	singoole
terminalia macroptera	furle	combretum glutinosum	tafe
sixyphus anthacanta	fa		

H. Vocabulary related to social and professional types.

weaver	miranna	tailor	liffindaana
cotton	kotolle	embroiderer	sufandaana
fine cotton	kankan-kotolle	thread	bora
rough cotton	kotollin-kuunya	needle	meselle
thread	geese	silk	soowi
to process cotton	gurusi	to sew	liffindi
processed cotton	leppa-kuuya	sewing	lippe
to card	xala; yeesa	cloth	yiraame
to spin	yuri ndi	blanket	xuffa, xupu-
carding tools	xalani, yeesadu		yiraame
distaff	morade	to embroider	sufa
spindle	monjolle	embroidery	sufaye
weight for spindle	monjolle tije	embroidery-on	
dish for spiners'		neck of garment	lafa
chalk	meemaadi-beelo	-on the pocket	xaatume
base of spindle	tukaade	-on trousers	sarabu
bobin	doora	red thread	xarire
wheel	wasade		
warp pegs	geesudi-ton-ton	farmer	soxaana
weaver's trade	miran-jikku	hoe	tonge
shuttle	walaade	spade	fanti
		field	te
leatherworker	garanke	rainy season field	xaaxandun-te
thong	gaare	floodplain field	ji-battin-te
awl	bune	field on riverbank	fallo
knife	xafa, labo, sirbu, muqqun-solle	upland field	kollanga
curved blade knife	xedo	shepherd	nagaana
plank for slicing		pasture	woore-raxe
leather	wallaxa	flock, herd	goore
branding tool	buyade	pen	nangalle
tool for polishing		shepherding	jaxan-golle
leather	naxaade	to milk	xamu
leather/skin	fate	crook, staff	nagaani-guma
skin mat	guja	transhumance	garsa
boots	xuufi		
sandals	teppu	woodworker	sakke
babouches	muqqu	wood	solle
gri-gri	safaye	hatchet	sakkanballe
purse	xalasi-taxundi-fo	axe	yide
saddle	xirxi	hammer	fuluma
saddle blanket	xirixi-doroke	file	xasaade
tomtom	dondonne	scissors	xemecu
bridle	xarabin-kacce	burin	tonte
bit	xarabe	measuring bowl	muude
harness	xallango	wooden spoon	giribe
cord	kacce, tixiri	stake	tonte
stirrup	alkeebu	handle of a tool	xare

Specialized Vocabulary

cciffeuse	tullundaana	box	waxande
comb	sentaade	calabash	xolle
basket maker	mirandaana	dipper	xaraxamme
basket	kande	plate	yige-xolle
mats	daago, daba, jemene, terxe	straw	bojone
blacksmith	tage	jewel	maxa-nyette, nyagare
metal	mexe	ring	doromma
iron	mexen-binne	bracelet	kitti-ra-gode
silver	xalisi, gode	necklace	cakka
gold	kanne	earring	dobbe, jella, kuru-kuru, gelebe
lead	godon-xaye		
copper	jaxa-walle	potter	taga-yaxare
red copper	kire	clay	doore, botoxa
forge	tunqanne	canari	lalle
bellows	tuntu	clay pot	gine
terracotta pipe	maraxe	pipe	jamba-gine
hammer	fuluma	paint pot	garan-gine
small hammer	gulaadu	crucible	doorin-gine
tongs	xanpa	jeweler	sawaxe
burin	tonte	jewelry tools	sawaxin-yokku
point	bunne		
anvil	taane		
saw	xasaade		
		healer	jarandaana
spear	tamme	anemia	xuran-xura watte
arrow	bunne	hives	fatan-qonne
bow	bundanne	insanity	tuuriye
quiver	tugura	abcess	funce
saber	kaafa	swollen glands	xiirin-xiire
poignard	joroxo-labo	guinea worm	sege-remme
war axe	sufan-yide	baldness	telede
gun	marfa	hiccups	sinqotte
gunpowder	buna	hernia	jeetu
bullet	mexe-lemme	wound	joogiye
hook	gore	fracture	xosoye
harpoon	dagare		
trap	bappe		

Specialized Vocabulary

spring	moolo	judge	kiiti-kuttiye
basin	toro	plaintiff	sikka-gume
trigger	yulle	defendant	jumandaana
sight	funne		
sling	marafa-kacce	hunter	xanyana
ramrod	tuppu	guide	tuncinda
lock	wallalanne	town crier	ganganda
priming	morso	mason	tagandaana
charge	katta	warrior	gajalla
		storyteller	masalandaana
circumsizer	sallindaana	guard	taxundaana
circumcision	sallinda	criminal	sare-kalla
foreskin	murru		
assistant	guley		
circumcision ceremony	surunta-nyaxa		
circumcized male	kutunte		

I. Religion

God	Alla	Messenger, Envoy	
Hegira	higib	prophet	faare
Moslem	musilime	Koran	alixuranne
fast, period of		devil, bush	
fasting	summe	spirit	jina
Satan	seitaane	hell	jahanaba
alms, sacrifice	sadaxa	pious	telononte
forbidden	haaramu	one who doesn't	
Islam	annabi-kille	follow	kutante
mosque	misiide	minarette	manar
muezzin	xirinda	Koranic lesson	sorat
infidel	kafiri	backslider	kutana
Gabriel	Jibril	Mary	Maryam
Christ	Issa	Joseph	Yussuf
Moses	Muusa	Issac	Issaka
Abraham	Ibrahim		

J. Non-Casted People

king	tunkan-yugo	chief	nyiinya-gume
village chief	jama-gume,	chief of the slaves	komo-gume
	debe-gume	head of household	ka-gume
capital	tunkan-debe	country	jaama
slave	komo	house slave	tunbaare
legal concubine	gaada, tara	great slave	jonkurunke
slave of village	komon-debe	noble	hoore
clan	xabiila		

Specialized Vocabulary

K. Weather and Natural Phenomenon

rain	kamme	river bank	waxe
wind	fanke	ford	jube
star	saane	confluence	waralaqqe
sun	kiye	stone hill	gide
moon	xaso	plateau field	sina
hail	maramalle	rocky hill	koce
rainbow	jaagu-budaŋŋe	plain	gufure
water spring	seppe	valley	gidin-xoole
river	faŋŋe	forest	sutte
coals	xane	fire	yimbe
brand	sunqume	charcoal	sina-xoore
fog	xururo	bush	gunne
dust	xobe	saltpeter	xemefunce

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